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THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF THE PROPHETS AND JESUS

THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF THE PROPHETS AND JESUS

BY

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PREFACE

THE discovery that the great prophets and founders of Judaism and Christianity were above all else social teachers and reformers is rapidly revolutionising the study of the Bible. The Hebrew prophets and Jesus speak to us to-day more directly and convincingly than they did even to their contemporaries, for we are far more keenly alive to the importance of the social problems which they were seeking to solve. To appreciate fully the social principles which they laid down it is necessary first to become acquainted with the personality of each of these prophets and with the immediate political and social conditions with which they were dealing. Studied in the light of their historical background, these teachings can then be readily interpreted into universal terms and used as a solvent for the social problems of to-day.

The social teachings of the Bible are so deeply embedded in the Old and New Testament writings that they are not easily accessible to the general reader. Those of the prophets and of their practical interpreters, the priests and sages, have usually been treated separately from those of Jesus and his immediate followers. As a matter of fact, Jesus and Paul based their social teachings directly upon those of the earlier prophets. Without the final synthesis and interpretation which Jesus gave to these earlier teachings, they are disconnected and incomplete. To be clearly understood both the teachings of the prophets and those of Jesus and Paul must be studied together as parts of a genetic whole. The chief aims, therefore, of this volume are to single out the important social teachings of the Bible, to translate them into clear English, and then to classify and present them so that they may be intelligently studied in the light of their historical setting and development. The re-

sult is primarily a source book; for the modern reader and student desire first of all to know the exact form as well as content of these epoch-making teachings. The final aim is to interpret the principles which underlie them into modern language and thought. In realising these aims I owe much to pioneers like Professor Francis G. Peabody of Harvard and Dean Charles R. Brown of Yale, who have discovered this rich field, but I am especially indebted to Professor J. W. Jenks of New York University and Mr. Frederick J. Kingsbury of New Haven, who have offered many valuable suggestions as this volume has been taking form.

These social principles represent the common ground on which conservative and radical, Protestant and Catholic, reformed Jew and progressive Mohammedan—in fact, every man who recognises the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man—can unite and work for the realisation of the ideals of the founders of their faith. These are the fundamental principles which the great prophets of Judaism and Christianity and of every vital religion supremely emphasised. In their eyes the petty differences which to-day divide the religious forces of the world were utterly unimportant. Deeds, not creeds, spirit, not forms, attitude, not professions, alone are essential. The social teachings of the prophets and Jesus, therefore, furnish the practical working basis on which the social and religious leaders of the world can co-operate in promoting and conserving the highest material and spiritual interests of the human race.

C. F. K.

Yale College,
February, 1917.

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PART I

THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF THE PRE-EXILIC PROPHETS

I

MOSES' ASSERTION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE INDUSTRIALLY OPPRESSED

The Social Significance of the Bible. Hitherto the Bible has been regarded primarily as a theological text-book. From its pages dogmatic theologians have drawn the proof-texts that have been made the foundations of many diverse creeds. But at last we are beginning to see that the Bible is far more than a theological treatise. Through its vivid records we still gain our clearest and most inspiring visions of the God revealed in the universe and in human history; but now we realise that its authors sought to do much more than to teach theology. Throughout its pages two dominant aims are clearly and constantly evident. The first is to make plain to men the ways in which they may enter into intimate acquaintance with God and find life and freedom in his loyal service. The second is to show them how they may live in right relations to their fellow men and by united effort develop a perfect social order in which each may find supreme happiness and complete self-expression. The one aim is in the largest sense religious, the other social. The Bible also makes forever clear the absolute unity of these two aims.

Many different voices are heard in the Old and New Testaments, but clear above them all rise in full harmony those of the Hebrew prophets and Jesus and Paul. They were not vague dreamers but men of practical insight and outlook, who stood together on the higher planes of reality. Their interpretation of the great social problems which confront the individual and society are so clarifying and significant that no intelligent man or age can afford to disregard them. Wrought out and thor-

oughly tested in the laboratory of personal and national experience, the religious and social principles which they set forth possess a unique and abiding value. The Bible also records the progressive development and formulation of these fundamental principles. From the very beginning of their national history the Hebrews were endowed with a rich social heritage derived from their nomadic ancestors. In the strenuous national crises which marked the enlargement of Israel's life and thought these inherited social ideals were reinterpreted and expanded by each succeeding prophet until they found their final and complete synthesis in the teachings of Jesus.

In this critical, transitional age, when selfish greed and materialism have nearly wrecked society, we are inexorably forced to the conclusion that the social principles of the prophets and Jesus are by far the most valuable assets that the past has bequeathed to us, for they furnish the only basis upon which an enduring civilisation can be reared. It is this fresh appreciation of the profoundly practical social idealism of the Bible that is gaining for it a new and pre-eminent place in the thought and interest of the present generation.

The Political and Economic Background of the Egyptian Oppression. Chief among the many reasons why Israel of all the nations has proved the leading social teacher of the human race is the fact that its history opened with a titanic social struggle. Its founder was a prophet and social agitator. In the throes of a great industrial crisis the Hebrew nation was born. Political and economic conditions in the land of Egypt during the thirteenth century before Christ were the result of a long process of development. The land of the Nile is naturally isolated. Originally it was divided into a large number of small independent states. Only gradually were they united. The invasion of the Hyksos conquerors about the twentieth century before Christ led them in desperation to acknowledge the absolute authority of the kings of the Eighteenth (Theban) Dynasty. After a long struggle these rulers succeeded in expelling the invaders and in extending the boundaries of Egypt until they included Syria and Palestine.

The deliverance was purchased, however, at great cost to the common people. All political power and most of the wealth of the empire were gathered into the hands of a small ruling class. Under the succeeding Nineteenth Dynasty social conditions grew even more intolerable. The local nobility disappeared and the kings became absolute despots, holding in their irresponsible hands all the vast resources of the empire and the lives of their subjects. A huge bureaucracy of minor officials, who were the paid tools of the tyrant, in his name controlled all commerce and collected as high as twenty per cent tax on all products of the soil. For the individual citizen there was no redress nor escape from this economic as well as political thraldom. Upon the thousands of captives and foreigners then found in the land of Egypt this intolerable burden rested most heavily.

Ramses II's Policy of Oppression. Ramses II, the fourth king of the Nineteenth Dynasty, who reigned sixty-seven years (1292–1225 B.C.), was one of the greatest masters of industry that has ever appeared in human history. He was a man of unbounded energy and gifted with a remarkable organising ability. He was dominated by a colossal ambition to build memorials so many and so vast that they would make his reign forever glorious. The result is that the land of Egypt is to-day strewn from one end to the other with the evidences in crumbling stone of his overweening ambition. At Tanis in the delta is a huge granite monolith of the oppressor ninety feet high, weighing fully nine hundred tons. At Luxor (ancient Thebes) the ruins of the colonnaded hall of the great temple which he reared still surpass in size the largest buildings of the ancient and modern world. These imposing remains, as well as contemporary records, reveal the spirit of the man. He planned far more than he could execute. Turning his back on the most sacred traditions of his race, he tore down famous temples and noble works of art and used the material for his own crude building enterprises. Erasing the names of those who had originally reared them, he inscribed his own name on scores of ancient monuments. He was equally ruth-

less in his sacrifice of human life. All Egypt was put to work to satisfy his inordinate ambition. At the same time he was lavish in his gifts to the temples and in his public display of piety. Evidently he was eager to win for himself the approval of the gods and to blind his own subjects by the magnificence of his public benefactions. In every respect he was a perfect type of the unprincipled captain of industry; and, thanks to Egypt's malign inheritance, he was able to perfect an industrial system which in its inexorable effectiveness has never been surpassed.

The Effects of Ramses II's Policy upon the Hebrews. The nomads from Palestine, who, driven by famine, under the benign reign of an earlier Pharaoh had found refuge and later a permanent home in the pasture lands east of the Nile Delta, were but a small fraction of the horde of foreigners who in the days of Ramses II filled the land of Egypt. Earlier Egyptian records contain references to the Semitic shepherds who came to water their flocks at the pools of Pithom. Until the days of Ramses II the Wady Tumilat, which ran from the Nile delta eastward toward the wilderness, had been given up to shepherds. Here the ancestors of the Hebrews had pastured their herds and flocks undisturbed except for the occasional visits of Egyptian tax collectors. In this favorable environment their numbers rapidly increased. Ramses II, however, was eager to develop the agricultural resources of the Wady Tumilat and to provide arsenals and granaries as a base for his campaigns in the neighbouring lands of Palestine and Syria. To effect this transformation and to build the store cities of Rameses and Pithom (Egyptian P-Atum = House of the god Atum), the Hebrews were drafted into the royal service. No people are more resentful of forced manual labor than the freedom-loving sons of the desert. But the unorganised Hebrew clans were helplessly caught in the meshes of Pharaoh's industrial system. Their "lives were made bitter with hard service in mortar and brick." As their numbers continued to increase and their resentment became more evident, their burden was made more crushing. With absolutely no prospect of escape,

sullen, sodden, and hungry, these hopeless serfs were compelled under the lash to toil at the vast enterprises which completed their bondage.

The Development of an Industrial Deliverer. Moses is the first man in human history with a well-developed social consciousness. He lived long before the days of exact Hebrew records; but his life is so simple and his work so significant that there is every reason to believe that the oldest traditions preserved in Exodus are thoroughly reliable. Interpreted into modern language, they give a marvellous picture of the way in which Israel's first great prophet and industrial deliverer was trained. They also illustrate the pre-eminent importance of personality. Moses was in one sense a product of contemporary conditions and of the forces at work in his race and age. In another and deeper sense he was the moulder of his race and of new social ideals for humanity. Each factor in his youthful training was essential to his final work. His birth and upbringing as a child aligned him with his race. His later culture gave him a larger outlook and enabled him to understand the baffling social and economic problems which he sought to solve. The supreme crisis in his life came to him in his young manhood—the period when most prophets awaken to their mission. A cruel act of oppression suddenly aroused his loyalty to his kinsmen and so stirred his social consciousness that he awoke to a vivid realisation of the injustice of Pharaoh's policy. Hot-headed and red-handed, he attacked it by slaying a cruel Egyptian taskmaster (Ex. $2^{11, 12}$). Painful experience soon taught him that violence never helps but always hurts a just cause. His act probably brought only added woe to his kinsmen. Even they misunderstood and openly resented his interference. The trouble was that his zeal was misdirected and his method was not constructive. But his impulsive act forever committed him to the mighty task of delivering his enthralled kinsmen (Ex. 2^{13-15a}).

Moses' Vision in the Land of Midian. Moses' violent assertion of his loyalty to his race and to the principles of justice gave him a new perspective. His enervating contact with

the ruling class in Egypt was suddenly broken, and he found himself a fugitive in that trackless wilderness from which the ancestors of his race had emerged. He quickly identified himself with the freer, more democratic social life which flourished in those arid steppes and meagrely watered wadies. At their fountain source he drank in the social traditions of his race. In the calm, free atmosphere of the desert he saw more clearly by contrast the colossal injustice of the Egyptian industrial system. The great wrong, which he had in a pitiably inadequate and unwise way attempted to right, still remained, and he could not forget it. Doubtless he listened eagerly to the stray bits of information regarding conditions in Egypt that sifted out into the wilderness. At last the news came that the great taskmaster, who for more than six decades had held the people of Egypt under his pitiless lash, was dead.

The book of Exodus has preserved three distinct accounts of the way in which Moses received the divine call to take up his mighty task as an industrial deliverer. Each represents the bold attempt of early tradition to describe a profound spiritual experience. That they differ in details is not surprising. It is the points in which they agree that are significant. The background of Moses' call is his intimate knowledge of the needs of his oppressed kinsmen and his burning zeal to deliver them. The great outstanding fact in all the narratives is his vivid consciousness of Jehovah's presence and power. For the first time in human history Moses clearly realised that the God back of the universe is a God of justice and mercy who sympathises with the socially oppressed. Simply and directly the early Judean prophetic narrative states the truth which is the corner-stone of Israel's faith (Ex. $3^{7, 8a}$):

> Jehovah said, 'I have surely seen the affliction of my people that are in Egypt, and have heard their cry of anguish because of their taskmasters, for I know their sorrows; and I am come down to deliver them out of the power of the Egyptians.'

It was this conviction, and not merely the knowledge of the changed political conditions in Egypt, that transformed the

Hebrew fugitive into the intrepid and tactful champion of a seemingly impossible cause. The consciousness that God is the friend and deliverer of the oppressed not only made Moses a prophet but also guided him in all his subsequent heroic and successful endeavors in behalf of his people.

The Social Problem. Human society has rarely presented a more baffling social problem than that which confronted Moses when he returned to Egypt. The system which was relentlessly crushing the bodies and souls of his kinsmen seemed to be impregnably intrenched. It was supported by the entire political, priestly, and military power of the empire. The spirit of his kinsmen had been crushed by their cruel burdens and at first they were suspicious of this prophet from the wilderness. Not the least of his tasks was to arouse this ignorant, inert mass. As has been truly said, "Moses himself was doubtless still on the black list of the Egyptian secret service." No champion of ancient story ever attempted a more heroic feat than did he when he stood up single-handed against Egypt's mighty industrial system. The only external factor in his favour was that the merciless tyrant, Ramses II, was dead and Egypt was beginning to feel acutely the weakening effects of his rapacious policy. Unobserved, however, by king and people, mighty physical, social, and economic laws were also lined up on the side of the intrepid prophet. The effects of their co-operation are graphically and characteristically recorded in the plague stories of Exodus. With the eye of faith the ancient story-tellers saw not the economic and natural forces but the God back of them all, and told their story accordingly. The contemporary Egyptian records reveal still other forces at work: foreign invaders, civil war, and inefficient rulers were rapidly sapping the strength of the empire.

Moses' Methods. The overshadowing figure in this crisis was Moses, for he was not only the champion of his oppressed kinsmen but also the herald of new social principles. In his youthful zeal he had tried to right a great social wrong by violence; but now he carefully avoided the use of force. For-

tunately he was not gifted as an orator, and so did not depend upon fervid harangues. Instead he initiated a well-planned campaign. First he educated his fellow Israelites (Ex. 4^{29-31}):

> So Moses went and gathered together all the elders of the Israelites, and spoke all the words which Jehovah had spoken to him, and did the signs in the sight of the people. And the people believed; and when they heard that Jehovah had visited the Israelites, and that he had seen their affliction, they bowed low their heads in worship.

Later, when conditions were favourable, he organised them for definite action. He also formulated the just demands of the oppressed industrial class which he represented and then personally presented them to the reigning Pharaoh. When these demands were refused he resorted to practical agitation. His frequent stormy interviews with the king were significant, because he was able thereby to impress the right of his cause and the social principles for which he contended upon his kinsmen and upon the people of Egypt. Having exhausted these methods, he depended upon patient, persistent waiting for the outworking of the social and economic laws through which the rule of God is manifested in the life of the world. In his thought, as in the minds of the early Hebrew story-tellers, Jehovah was the personal embodiment of all these laws. He was regarded as the immediate as well as the ultimate cause of all natural phenomena. The foreign invasions, the degeneracy of the reigning house, the anarchy, the resulting unhygienic conditions, the pestilences, and the sudden collapse of power, which about 1200 B.C. came in rapid succession upon the once rich and mighty Egyptian empire, were believed by the early Hebrew historians to be special miracles performed by Jehovah at the request of Moses in order to liberate their ancestors. There is every reason to believe, however, that God is the same to-day as yesterday, and that he then as now used natural and economic forces in accomplishing his purpose in human history. If so, this ancient industrial struggle possesses a unique interest and value for the modern industrial age.

The Great Social and Economic Principles Illustrated by the Crisis in Egypt. The issue was so clearly drawn, the factors involved were so obvious, and the outcome was so decisive that the social and economic principles illustrated by this great industrial struggle stand out clear-cut and convincing. The first is that the union of great wealth and political power in the hands of one man or of a few men is fatal to the ultimate prosperity of a nation and to the welfare and happiness of its citizens. It is only through the united judgment and the loyal co-operation of a majority of the people that the economic and political powers of a nation can be wisely exercised. Centralised in a few irresponsible hands, it is subject to personal caprice and ambition, as is dramatically illustrated by the reign of Ramses II.

The second principle is that when men are unjustly herded together and pitilessly exploited, they inevitably breed contagion and pestilence as well as discontent and the spirit of insurrection. Furthermore, when the industrial workers are thus exploited, the masters of industry who are responsible for these evils in the end also inevitably feel the dire consequences. Into the royal palace in ancient Egypt the dread pestilence stalked, claiming as its own the heir to the throne. To-day from the congested tenement districts the germs of filth diseases and the more deadly moral contagions, without regard for social distinction, invade the homes of the rich and cultured. Furthermore, excessive wealth won by injustice in the end proves in itself a destructive nemesis. It was the vice and luxury begotten by wealth that ultimately destroyed the efficiency of the reigning Egyptian house and brought about its downfall. Human history is full of similar illustrations.

Equally significant is the positive principle that is clearly illustrated by Moses' own experience: violence never avails in correcting industrial evils. The only true method is that of Moses: education and organisation of those industrially oppressed; clear presentation of their claims and rights; patient, persistent agitation in order to educate public opinion; and efficient organisation to protect their interests. These are the

methods which won in ancient Egypt in the twelfth century before Christ, and they alone will secure justice for the same classes to-day.

The Social Significance of the Deliverance of the Hebrews. The exodus from Egypt did far more for the Hebrews than merely deliver them from a galling industrial serfdom. It gave them a keen sense of national unity. It also afforded them an opportunity in the free life of the wilderness and in close contact with their nomadic kinsmen to develop the social institutions which they had inherited from their Semitic ancestors. Here Moses was able to impress upon them the moral and social ideals which lie at the foundations of the laws which later generations formulated and attributed to him.

The painful experiences of the Hebrews in Egypt taught them to hate political and industrial tyranny of every kind. Involuntarily, their sympathies were forever enlisted in behalf of the victims of social and industrial oppression. No other ancient people showed such tender consideration for the slave, the resident alien, the widow, the orphan, and the hired laborer. Many of Israel's noblest philanthropic laws are reinforced by the formula (*e. g.*, Dt. 5^{15}, 24^{22}):

> Remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and that Jehovah thy God brought thee out from there by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm.

Above all, this signal experience led the Hebrews to think of their Deity as a God full of sympathy for the afflicted and dependent and ever eager to champion their cause against cruel oppressors. It is this dominating social element in Israel's early religion that absolutely distinguishes it from all other primitive faiths. This unique social factor in their theology alone explains why the Hebrew prophets rejected the merely ceremonial and credal conceptions of religion and defined its obligations ever more clearly in terms of justice and mercy and love to all mankind.

II

THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH AHIJAH AND ELIJAH CONTENDED

Israel's Social Inheritance. The social ideals of Judaism and Christianity are the culmination of a long evolutionary process. That evolution began centuries before the ancestors of the Hebrews entered the land of Palestine. In the old nomadic life of the wilderness the primitive Semites wrought out a social creed which they embodied in their customs and institutions and rigorously guarded by taboos and religious sanctions. That creed was the result of an infinite number of social experiments. To a large extent its form was determined by their physical environment. It was the supreme fact in their life. It was so interwoven with religion that in their thought the two were indistinguishable. It was for them the foundation of all ethics; for personal morals apart from the obligation of the individual to the family or clan or tribe were then unknown. The individual survived only by virtue of his membership in this group. The group also could survive only through the loyalty of each member. Hence each man was under solemn obligation to give to it everything which he possessed: his thought, his labour, and, if need be, his life. If any one of the members of his clan or tribe was injured, he must avenge the wrong as he would had his own blood been shed. His social responsibilities were therefore his one constant concern.

Within the ancient Hebrew clan or tribe the atmosphere was thoroughly democratic. All worked together for the common social group. All stood on a practical equality. All had a voice, either directly or through the heads of their families, in the councils of the clan or tribe. Such inequalities as existed

were chiefly the result of varying degrees of personal ability and service to the community. Even property appears to have been held in common. While the title to it was nominally held by the oldest member of the family or clan, in theory he simply acted as the trustee for the other members of the small social group. The Hebrews, therefore, began their national life with a well-developed social consciousness, with a thoroughly democratic conception of government and an almost socialistic theory of property.

The Social Transformation in Israel's Early History. The transition from the nomadic to the agricultural stage was the most significant step in Israel's social history. Fortunately, owing to the peculiar physical character of Palestine, it was gradual. Also the Hebrews always had on their southern and eastern borders a nomadic population with which they were in closest touch. These conditions enabled them to carry over and adjust their inherited social institutions to the settled agricultural life of Palestine. The family remained the primal social unit. The village and city took the place of the ancient clan; but the elders or heads of families remained the chief officials in the new social order. Under the crushing pressure of Philistine invasion the different Hebrew tribes were forced to yield their individual authority sufficiently to make united action under a common leader possible. Thus the Hebrew kingdom was established under the direction of Samuel and the leadership of the Benjamite Saul. This step corresponded closely to the action of the American colonies in the days of the Revolution. The result was not a kingdom, in the generally accepted sense, but rather a federation of colonies or tribes. The head of this confederacy was called a king, but he was from the first regarded simply as an influential tribal sheik. He and his successors were elected or, if nominated by the dying king, as in the case of Solomon, were accepted by the representatives of the tribes. The tribes maintained their right to reject the nominee of the king and to elect another in his place. The Hebrew king was originally regarded simply as the servant of the people. From the first the Hebrew commonwealth

was more democratic than it was despotic. Of all the ancient democracies it was in the truest sense a rule of the people for the people and by the people.

The Long Conflict between the Hebrew Nomadic and the Canaanite Agricultural Ideals. When the Hebrews entered Palestine they found its plains and valleys occupied by the highly developed agricultural Canaanites. At first the Hebrew tribesmen settled in the uplands. There they continued to live in tents and to retain their nomadic habits. As their numbers increased they began to mingle with the Canaanites. In the city of Shechem, for example, Hebrews and Canaanites lived together, intermarried, and apparently worshipped their ancestral gods at the same temple, which was called Baal-or El-berith (Lord of the Covenant; *cf.* Judg. $9^{4, 46}$).

The rapid increase of the Hebrews in time alarmed the Canaanites, who united under Sisera, the leader of the confederacy of cities that encircled the plains of Esdraelon, to hold them in subjection. Inspired by the prophetess Deborah and led by the warrior Barak, the Hebrew tribesmen of central Palestine rallied and defeated the Canaanites beside the river Kishon. This signal victory gave the Israelites control of central Canaan, but it did not eliminate the menace of Canaanite civilisation. A majority of the population of these central cities survived. Many of them intermarried with the Hebrews. Even such a patriotic leader as Gideon married a Canaanite wife. Gradually the Canaanites were reduced to serfdom, although in a few cities like Gibeon, Gezer, and Bethshean they constituted such an overwhelming proportion of the population that they continued in the ascendancy. Their civilisation from a material point of view was so far in advance of that of the Hebrews and so completely adapted to the needs of agricultural Canaan that the conquered race at once became the teacher of the conquerors. Having no local shrines and few religious ceremonies, the Hebrews largely adopted those of the Canaanites. As a result, from the moment that the Hebrews entered Canaan (about 1150 B.C.) until the Babylonian exile (586 B.C.) a persistent and deadly conflict raged between the

nomadic Hebrew and the agricultural Canaanite conceptions of religion and government. Not only in the cities and seats of government but in the market-places and in private homes it smouldered and at times burst into a fierce flame. Although modified in many respects, the Hebrew ideals and institutions in the end emerged victorious. What is equally significant, the Hebrews treasured them and clung to them with a tenacity which would have been impossible had they not struggled and fought for them through six stirring centuries.

No two civilisations were ever more violently antithetic than those of the Hebrews and Canaanites. The conflict centred first about their religious beliefs. The Hebrews believed in one patron God of their race; the Canaanites in many local deities. The Hebrew God was conceived of as a male Deity; the Canaanite pantheon included both male and female deities, and sex dualism was one of its fundamental tenets. The Hebrews believed that their God was a moral Deity, while the gods of Canaanite mythology were grossly immoral. The result was that, while the Hebrews maintained lofty ideals of social purity, the Canaanites regarded many acts of social immorality as marks of piety.

The Early Conflict between the Hebrew and Canaanite Theories of the State. The age-long contest between the democratic and despotic ideals of government was hotly waged in ancient Israel as early as the pioneer period of the settlement. The Hebrew theory was that the state, like the early clan or tribe, was an aggregation of individuals voluntarily associated together for the purpose of protecting the interests and furthering the welfare of all members of the social group. The rulers were the servants of the people, chosen by them to represent and lead the nation and to guard the interests of each individual citizen. As in the ancient tribe, every man had a voice in the public councils; all stood on a practical equality. The Canaanite theory was that the state is an aggregation of individuals who yield their rights to an absolute and irresponsible ruler in return for the protection which he or his ancestors were supposed to give to the social group. The ruler is the practical

owner of his subjects and is therefore free at will and for his own purposes to command their wealth and services.

The earliest conflict between these two opposing theories came immediately after the death of the first local Hebrew king, Gideon of Ophrah. One of his sons, Abimelech, had through his Canaanite mother inherited the ideals of that race. As recorded in Judges 9, on the death of Gideon he went to his Canaanite kinsmen at Shechem and persuaded them to support him in an attempt to establish an autocracy in place of the little Hebrew democracy which his father had founded. His first step was to slay all the members of his family who might legally dispute his claims. The popular address of the one brother who escaped clearly voices the Hebrew democratic ideals which Abimelech trampled under foot. It assumes the free choice of a ruler by the people and that his task is to serve his subjects. It also implies that even in that early age the strongest men in the community were not always responsive to the call to public service (Judg. 9^{7b-15}):

> And Jotham went and stood on the top of Mount Gerizim, and shouted at the top of his voice, and said to them, 'Hearken to me, you men of Shechem, that God may hearken to you. Once upon a time the trees went forth to anoint a king over them. And they said to the olive-tree, "Reign over us." But the olive-tree said to them, "Shall I leave off my fatness, with which by me gods and man are honoured, and go to hold sway over the trees?" Then the trees said to the fig-tree, "You come and reign over us." But the fig-tree said to them, "Shall I stop my sweetness, and my bountiful crop, and go to hold sway over the trees?" The trees then said to the vine, "You come and reign over us." But the vine said to them, "Shall I leave my new wine, which gladdens gods and men, and go to hold sway over the trees?" Then all the trees said to the bramble, "You come and reign over us." And the bramble said to the trees, "If in good faith you anoint me king over you, then come and take refuge in my shade; but if not, let fire come out of the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon."'

Abimelech, indeed, proved a nettle to the people of central Palestine. For three years he ruled as a tyrant, and then the

Shechemites who had supported him rebelled and vainly tried to throw off his onerous yoke. Upon not only the men who rebelled but also upon the women as well he wreaked a bloody vengeance. When finally he was struck down by a millstone thrown by a woman, the Hebrews gave devout thanks for deliverance from the rule of this incarnation of the despotic Canaanite ideal of government.

The Ascendancy of the Canaanite Governmental Ideals under Solomon. Saul and David, the first two kings of the united Hebrew commonwealth, proved faithful to the ideals of their race. Saul preserved the democratic simplicity of a tribal sheik. He held court under the tamarisk-tree that stood in his native town of Gibeah (I Sam. 22^{6}). Faithfully he strove to serve his people and in the end gave his life in their behalf. David held the hearts of the Israelites as long as he was loyal to their democratic ideas of government. His power with them rapidly waned when, as in his treatment of Uriah, he assumed certain of the prerogatives of an Oriental despot, so that even his own tribe, Judah, was ready to depose him (II Sam. 15). In the main, however, he remained a loyal servant of the people and strove to guard the rights of all his subjects. This fact alone explains the large place that he held in the esteem of succeeding generations. His son Solomon, however, made the supreme mistake of abandoning the governmental and economic traditions of his race for those of the Canaanites. The explanation is to be found partly in the ambitious, unscrupulous character of his mother Bathsheba, whose first husband was a Hittite and who may have had foreign blood in her veins. The biblical writers also trace it to the influence of his foreign marriages (I Kgs. 11^{1-4}). The despotic Canaanite theory of government suited well his own inordinate ambition for display and magnificence. That he deliberately adopted it is shown by the ruthless way in which he removed by the sword and by banishment all of the older and more powerful officials of his realm who might oppose him, by his choice of officials who were merely his tools, by his erection of fortresses at strategic points so that he was able quickly to put down any

rebellion, by the vast sums that he spent in his palace and in the strengthening of the fortifications at Jerusalem, and by the exacting system of forced labour and taxation that he imposed upon his people. Under his reign his subjects were helpless against these royal aggressions on their liberties. Public resentment smouldered. Only once is it recorded that it burst into a flame. The insurrection was led by Jeroboam, a labour leader, who had risen from the ranks (I Kgs. $11^{26, 40}$). It was quickly suppressed, however, and Jeroboam fled to Egypt, where he remained until he was recalled to become king of Northern Israel.

Solomon's Theory of Taxation. In keeping with Israel's democratic theories of government, Gideon and Saul and David had apparently maintained their rule by voluntary gifts of the people, by the spoils won through foreign conquest, and by the tribute received from conquered peoples. These sources of revenue did not satisfy Solomon's unreasonable needs. Adopting the Canaanite and Egyptian theory that the land and people belong to the king, he proceeded to introduce the forms of taxation in force in those despotic states. His first step was to impose forced labour on the non-Hebrew population (I Kgs. $9^{15, 20, 21}$):

> This is the way it was with the levy which King Solomon raised: all the people who were left of the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, who were not of the Israelites, their children who were left after them in the land, whom the Israelites were not able utterly to destroy,—of them did Solomon raise a forced levy of bondmen, even to this day.

Furthermore, he did not hesitate to impose the same burden upon the native Israelites (I Kgs. 5^{13-16}).

In the warning which the later prophetic writers dramatically placed in the mouth of Samuel there is a vivid portrayal of the evils of Solomon's political and economic policy and of how it affected his subjects (I Sam. 8^{11-17}):

> This will be the prerogative of the king who shall reign over you: he will take your sons and appoint them for himself over his

> chariots and horsemen; and they shall run before his chariots; and he shall appoint them for himself as commanders of thousands and commanders of hundreds, and some to plough his ground and to reap his harvest and to make his implements of war and the furnishings for his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be perfumers and to be cooks and to be bakers. And of your fields and your vineyards and your oliveyards he will take the best and give them to his servants. And he will take the tithe of your grain fields and of your vineyards and give to his eunuchs and to his servants. And he will take your men-servants and your maid-servants, and the best of your cattle and your asses, and use them for his work. He will take the tithe of your flocks; and you shall become his slaves.

Here we have the later protest of a democratic Hebrew prophet against the tyrannical Oriental measures that Solomon imposed upon the free Israelites. First Kings $4^{7, 22, 23, 27, 28}$ describes the system which he instituted in order to collect the provisions required for his elaborate court. In addition he monopolised Israel's commerce (I Kgs. $10^{22, 28, 29}$). Ancient Egypt under Ramses II was apparently no more exploited than the Hebrew commonwealth under Solomon. He was justified in expecting definite support from the people sufficient to promote the welfare of the state and of each citizen. With the development of his empire he required a larger income than did his predecessors. The injustice of his system of taxation lay in the false theory upon which it was based and in the tyrannical and humiliating way in which it was collected. Forced labour was the mark of Oriental despotism. The amount raised also appears to have been disproportionate to the total wealth of his nation and to the living conditions of the Israelites. Above all, many of the objects for which the taxes were levied and expended were unjustifiable. The palace which Solomon reared at Jerusalem and the magnificence of his court stood in glaring contrast to the hardships that his subjects endured in the tents and hovels in which they lived. One prophet alone in all his realm dared lift his voice in protest, and that was Ahijah of the Ephraimite town of Shiloh.

Knowing the temper of the northern tribes, he encouraged Jeroboam to raise the standard of revolt and predicted that only Judah, the tribe from which the reigning dynasty had sprung, would continue to tolerate Solomon's disloyalty to Israel's most sacred traditions and ideals.

The Popular Reassertion of Israel's Democratic Ideals. Solomon by armed force succeeded in holding his subjects under the lash; but at his death, as Ahijah predicted, the northern tribes immediately rose in protest. Their attitude was thoroughly constitutional. Their acceptance of Rehoboam, Solomon's nominee as his successor, was necessary before he could be legally established as king. That they might not be coerced by the armed forces at Jerusalem, their representatives met at the northern city of Shechem and demanded that Rehoboam come to them. The concise narrative of I Kings $12^{1\text{-}11}$ makes the issue exceedingly clear:

> And Rehoboam went to Shechem, for all Israel had come to Shechem to make him king. And they said to Rehoboam, 'Your father made our yoke intolerable. Now therefore make the intolerable service of your father and the heavy yoke he laid upon us lighter, and we will serve you.' And he said to them, 'Go away for three days, then come again to me.' So the people went away.
>
> And King Rehoboam took counsel with the old men who had stood before Solomon his father during his lifetime, saying, 'What answer do you advise me to give this people?' And they said to him, 'If now you will be a servant to this people, and will serve them, and give them a favourable answer, then they will be your servants forever.'
>
> But he rejected the counsel which the old men had given him, and took counsel with the young men who had grown up with him and had stood before him. And he said to them, 'What answer do you advise us to give to this people, who have spoken to me, saying, "Make the yoke that your father put upon us lighter?" ' And the young men who had grown up with him said to him, 'Thus must you answer this people who have said to you, "Your father made our yoke heavy, but you make it lighter for us"; thus must you say to them, "My little finger is thicker

than my father's loins! And now, whereas my father loaded you with a heavy yoke, I will make your yoke heavier; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scourges."'

The old men in Rehoboam's court voice most clearly the vital principles of every democratic government; the young men, who had been reared under Solomon's tyranny, the antithetic principles of Oriental despotism. Unfortunately for the house of David and the integrity of the Hebrew kingdom, the lure of despotic power proved irresistible to Rehoboam (I Kgs. 12^{12-16}):

So when all the people came to Rehoboam the third day, as the king bade, saying, 'Come to me the third day,' the king answered the people harshly, and did not follow the counsel which the old men had given him, but spoke to them according to the counsel of the young men, saying, 'My father made your yoke heavy, but I also will make your yoke still heavier; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scourges.' So the king gave no heed to the people.

And when all Israel saw that the king gave no heed to them, the people answered the king, saying,

'What part have we in David?
We have no inheritance in the son of Jesse.
To your tents, O Israel.
See now to thine own house, O David!'

So Israel departed to their tents.

Thus at the old Canaanite town of Shechem, even at the cost of the integrity of the Hebrew empire, Israel's democratic ideals were dramatically reasserted.

Elijah's Defense of the Rights of the Individual Citizen. Israel's history illustrates the fact that democracy is a possession which can be preserved only by eternal vigilance. The people are the easy prey of selfish, unscrupulous rulers. Especially was this true in the ancient Semitic world saturated with despotic ideas of government. Apparently Jeroboam I, who was called to the kingship by the northern tribes, guarded

faithfully the rights of the people. Later, during the second half of the ninth century, a military leader by the name of Omri was called to guide the destinies of the northern kingdom. He did for it in certain respects what David did for united Israel. His son Ahab successfully carried out his policy and in a series of battles freed Northern Israel from foreign invaders. To strengthen his position by alliance with his western neighbours, the commercial Phœnicians, he married Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, an ex-priest of Baal who had assassinated the reigning king and mounted the Tyrian throne. Ahab was simply intent upon developing the rich material resources of his kingdom. He enjoyed the confidence and loyalty of a majority of his subjects; but like Solomon he was ambitious to build a magnificent palace (I Kgs. 22^{39}). In the hour of his success he also listened to the voice of his Tyrian queen, who had been reared in the school of Canaanite diplomacy. His disloyalty to Israel's well-established democratic ideals horrified his subjects. In the end it led to the overthrow of his family through a popular uprising.

At first, however, the only one who appreciated the issue and dared openly defend the rights of the people against Ahab's aggressions was Elijah, the intrepid prophet from Gilead. He had been reared in the east-Jordan region, which lay near the desert and in closest touch with that nomadic life out of which the ancestors of the Hebrews had emerged five centuries before. On Mount Carmel he proved a valiant representative of the God of Moses and of Israel. There he succeeded in awakening the people to an appreciation of their infidelity in trying to remain loyal to Jehovah while paying homage to the Tyrian Baal, whose worship the crafty Jezebel had made popular in Israel. The incident which made clear the issue between Ahab and his subjects is graphically recounted in the familiar story of Naboth's vineyard. It brings out again in clearest relief the contrast between the Hebrew and Canaanite, the democratic and the despotic ideals of government (I Kgs. $21^{1\text{-}20a, 23}$). Naboth, in refusing to sell his vineyard, stood squarely on the well-established right of every Hebrew citi-

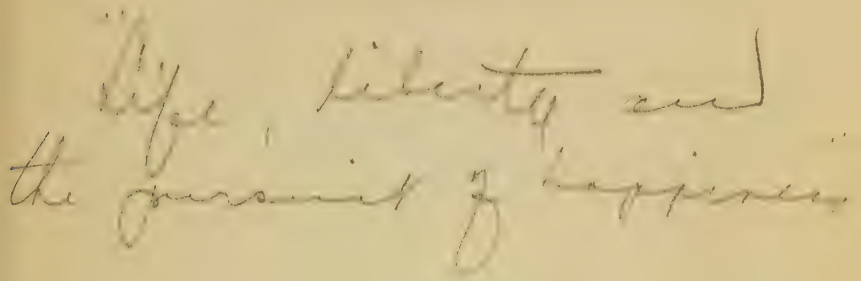
zen. Ahab bowed before it, until Jezebel poisoned his mind with the Canaanite ideals of despotic government. When she tempted him with the fruits of judicial murder he was unable to resist. But through the voice of Elijah outraged public opinion found vigorous expression. Even Ahab quailed before it (I Kgs. 21[27]):

> Now when Ahab heard those words he tore his clothes and put sackcloth on his flesh and fasted; he also slept on sackcloth and went about quietly.

Ahijah and Elijah stood on common ground. Each contended for the rights and liberties of the ordinary citizen. Each was the foe of tyranny and the misuse of political power. Both were valiant pioneers in that long army of prophets and patriots who through the ages have fought to secure justice and freedom for the weak as well as the strong.

The Social Principles Established in Israel's Early History. To the student of political science early Israel is a most instructive social laboratory. During these formative centuries many fundamental social principles were worked out in practical experience, formulated by Israel's prophets and lawgivers, and enforced by popular action. The first principle is that the state is organised simply to promote the welfare of the social group and of each individual citizen. Rulers are the servants of the people and should be governed in all their public acts by the demands of public welfare. No ruler, in order to gratify his personal ambition, has the right to use his power to deprive even the humblest of his subjects of his freedom or of his rightful possessions. Any tax or levy required to promote the general welfare of the people may justly be imposed, and the individual citizens are under obligation to abide by the decree of their properly appointed rulers. But any tax levied for the mere satisfaction of a ruler or a ruling class without regard to the welfare of the people is a crime. When rulers fail to promote the common welfare the citizens have the right to depose them and to take such measures as are necessary to protect

the public interests. In other words, the ultimate source of all political authority rests with the people, and the safeguarding of their welfare and interests is the primary aim of all government. It is evident that not ancient Hellas but Palestine was the original home of true democracy.



III

THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF THE EARLY PROPHETIC STORY-TELLERS

The Social Aim in Israel's Early Epic Narratives. The greatness and the zeal of Israel's early prophetic teachers are shown by the variety of the methods which they employed to impress their social ideals upon their race. Prophets like Ahijah and Elisha depended chiefly upon practical diplomacy. Some encouraged the people to embody their social ideals in definite laws. Others, like Isaiah and Jeremiah, reared up disciples who treasured their teachings and interpreted them to the people. In the days following Elijah there also arose, both in Northern Israel and in Judah, groups of prophets who utilised the stories that had come down by word of mouth from Israel's early past to illustrate the important social principles which they wished to make clear to their contemporaries. The advantages of this form of teaching are obvious. It at once attracts and holds the attention of the young as well as the old. The teachings are conveyed so interestingly and indirectly that all opposition is disarmed. Associated as they are with the popular heroes of the race, the principles thus concretely presented were readily and unconsciously accepted. Their epic character lends to them an irresistible charm. It is unimportant whether or not they are all exactly historical. They are true to life, and that is the chief essential from the social teacher's point of view. As types of real life, the hero stories of Genesis possess a universal quality which is lacking in many of the more distinctly historical narratives of the Old Testament. Exodus and the succeeding historical books illustrate the broad political and economic principles that govern the nation and the larger social groups, while the stories of Genesis

set forth social principles for the guidance of the individual in the home, in his relation to his neighbours, and in his attitude toward God. Hence these vivid narratives richly supplement the other social teachings of the prophets. In point of view as well as literary form they are closely related to the marvellous short stories with which Jesus illustrated his most important social teachings.

The Divine Ideal for Human Society. The early Judean prophetic narrative in the Old Testament opens with the second half of the fourth verse of the second chapter of Genesis. The background of the story is the old Semitic tradition of the creation. In the Babylonian version the god Marduk created men that they might build temples for the abode of the gods; but the Hebrew prophetic version of the story interprets the divine purpose back of creation very differently. It is that man may have all that is essential for his best physical, moral, and social development. The God of the prophets was not so jealous of his prerogatives as he was eager to help man to attain his highest good. In the naïve symbolism of the ancient story the tree of the knowledge of good and evil presents the temptation that is absolutely necessary if man is to develop moral strength (Gen. $2^{8, 9, 16, 17}$):

> And Jehovah planted a garden in Eden far in the East, and placed there the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground Jehovah made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. And Jehovah commanded the man, saying, 'Of every tree of the garden thou mayest eat freely, except of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; from it thou shalt not eat, for in the day that thou eatest of it thou shalt surely die.'

The Ultimate Basis of the Family. In the next section the prophet suggests the ultimate basis of the family relation. God is represented as experimenting. The experiment proved that for man's greatest happiness and fullest development he requires the companionship of his fellows and, above all, the

intimate friendship and love of one of the opposite sex. Hence the family is the corner-stone of that perfect society which the Creator aims to establish in order that man's happiness and culture may be complete (Gen. 2^{18-24}):

> Then said Jehovah, 'It is not good for the man to be alone; I will make a helper suited to him.' Therefore out of the ground Jehovah formed all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the heavens, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called each living creature that was its name. Thus the man gave names to all cattle and all the beasts of the field; but for the man himself there was found no helper suited to him.
>
> Then Jehovah caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, so that he slept. And he took one of his ribs, and closed up its place with flesh. But the rib, which he had taken from the man, Jehovah fashioned into a woman and brought her to the man. Then said the man,
>
> 'This, now, is bone of my bone
> And flesh of my flesh.'
>
> Therefore a man leaves father and mother and cleaves to his wife, so that they two become one flesh.

The primitive tradition regarding the method of woman's creation may be rejected in the light of later scientific discovery; but here is the oldest and simplest and in its ultimate implications the most satisfactory statement of the theory underlying the institution of marriage ever set forth. It teaches that marriage is based upon the innate biological and social characteristics and needs of man and woman. It is, therefore, not only a human convention but also a divinely established institution. Hence, a man's obligation to remain with and true to his wife is more sacred and binding than even the great debt he owes to his parents.

The Unsocial Character and Effects of Sin. The primary aim of the prophetic story of the temptation is to illustrate the origin, nature, and effects of sin. With remarkable skill the early prophet presents his teachings. The dialogue with

the serpent brings out the struggle in the mind of the woman and the fact that she was fully conscious of the higher promptings of gratitude and loyalty (Gen. 3^{1b-5}):

> And the serpent said to the woman, 'Hath God really said, "Ye shall not eat from any tree of the garden?"' The woman replied to the serpent, 'From the fruit of all the trees of the garden we may eat; only of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, "Ye shall not eat from it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die."' Then the serpent said to the woman, 'You shall not surely die; for God knoweth that in the day you eat of it your eyes shall be opened, and you shall be like gods, knowing good and evil.'

Deep down in her consciousness she knew that only by obedience and loyalty to her divine Friend could she best realise her highest possibilities. She sinned not because the serpent tempted her but because she yielded to the lower or more individualistic impulses: physical appetite, love of the beautiful, and the desire for knowledge. The prophet makes this point very clear (Gen. 3^{6}):

> Now when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and attractive to the sight, and desirable to make one wise, she took of its fruit and ate, and gave also to her husband with her and he ate.

None of the impulses which determined the woman's act were bad in themselves. The man also was influenced by his love and loyalty toward his wife. She had eaten of the fruit; should he stand apart and leave her to share her fate alone? Milton has well interpreted his feeling:

> . . . From thy state
> Mine never shall be parted,
> Bliss or woe.

The impulse to which he yielded was not base in itself. Each sinned because he did not respond to the higher impulse to be

loyal to that Friend who was contributing all which divine love and wisdom could suggest to make their happiness and development perfect. Their sin consisted simply in their failure to follow that higher motive. The ancient story also graphically presents the unsocial effects of sin. It destroyed their peace of mind and their normal social adjustment. It transformed the hitherto happy and efficient man and woman into craven cowards who, in their panic to escape the responsibility for their unsocial act, did not hesitate to lie and to drag down others (Gen. 3^{7-13}):

> Then the eyes of both of them were opened, so that they knew that they were naked; therefore they sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves girdles. But when they heard the sound of the footsteps of Jehovah, as he was walking in the garden in the cool of the day, the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of Jehovah among the trees of the garden.
>
> And Jehovah called to the man and said to him, 'Where art thou?' And he said, 'I heard the sound of thy footsteps in the garden and I was afraid, because I was naked; so I hid myself.' Then he said, 'Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree from which I commanded thee not to eat?' And the man said, 'The woman whom thou didst place beside me, she gave me from the tree and I ate.' When Jehovah said to the woman, 'What is this thou hast done?' The woman replied, 'The serpent beguiled me and I ate.'

The story also illustrates the fact that sin at once raises a barrier between the wrong-doer and the one whom he has wronged, whether it be God or an individual or society. In other words, it suddenly transforms the innocent man into a criminal, and all attempts on his part to excuse or palliate his crime but raises higher the wall that separates him from his fellows. The sentence visited upon the sinners in the story was not primarily a punishment: it was the only way—the way of pain and toil—by which the unsocial man and woman could be led to recognise their guilt and its fatal effects and thus regain the normal social point of view. But even these unrepentant criminals were not beyond the pale of divine love

and care, for the ancient story naïvely but significantly adds (Gen. 3^{21}):

> Jehovah made for the man and his wife tunics of skin, and clothed them.

The Making and Treatment of the Criminal. The later story of Cain is closely related to the preceding. It analyses in greater detail the successive steps in the making of a criminal and contrasts the human and divine treatment of this hideous social excrescence. In its origin the story apparently represents an incident in the early history of the agricultural Canaanites and the nomadic Hebrews; but in its present form it is a chapter from the universal history of mankind. In the thought of the ancients prosperity and misfortune were ever regarded as evidence of divine approval and disapproval. The words of Jehovah in the ancient tragedy indicate that the reason why Cain's offering was not acceptable was not its character but the mercenary motive which led him to present it. Cain is an elemental, undeveloped character. He, like every criminal, is still governed by the selfishly individualistic motives and ideals of childhood. He regards even religion as a means to a personal end. When he fails to attain this end his anger flames up. The kindly remonstrance and counsel even of Jehovah himself only increase his anger, for he has not learned to rule over his baser impulses. No loyalty to God or man stirs within him to prompt noble action. The culmination of this pernicious tendency is a deliberate act of murder. The portrait throughout is consistent (Gen. 4^{1-8}):

> Now in course of time it came to pass, that Cain brought some of the fruit of the ground as an offering to Jehovah. And Abel also brought some of the firstlings of his flock and of their fat. And Jehovah looked favourably upon Abel and his offering; but for Cain and his offering he had no regard.
>
> Therefore Cain was very angry and his countenance fell. And Jehovah said to Cain,
>
> 'Why art thou angry?
> And why is thy countenance fallen?

> If thou doest well, is there not acceptance?
> But if thou doest not well,
> Does not sin crouch at the door?
> And to thee shall be its desire,
> But thou shouldst rule over it.'
>
> Then Cain said to Abel his brother, 'Let us go into the field.' And while they were in the field, Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him.

As in the story of the temptation, Jehovah gives Cain, the red-handed criminal, ample opportunity to confess his sin and re-establish right relations with society; but there is not a spark of social consciousness within him. Instead, he repudiates all social responsibility. Hence, he must learn by bitter experience the consequences of this false attitude toward society (Gen. 4^{9-12}):

> And when Jehovah said to Cain, 'Where is Abel, thy brother?' he said, 'I know not; am I my brother's keeper?' Then he said, 'What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the ground. Now, therefore, cursed art thou; away from the ground, which hath opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. Whenever thou tillest the ground, it shall no longer yield to thee its strength; a fugitive and wanderer shalt thou be on the earth.'

Like his fellow criminals in all ages, Cain complains bitterly of the harshness of his fate; but there is in his words no suggestion that he recognises that punishment is deserved and is the direct result of his own unsocial acts (Gen. $4^{13, 14}$):

> Then Cain said to Jehovah, 'My punishment is greater than I can bear. Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the ground, and from thy face shall I be hid; and I shall become a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth; and it will come to pass, that whoever finds me will slay me.'

Ancient society had for this type of criminal but one method of treatment, and that was capital punishment. The relent-

less law of the old Semitic world was "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." He who shed man's blood had to atone for it with his own blood, unless he had the protection of his tribe. The tribal mark was, therefore, not a stigma but a symbol of protection. Human society had refused all such protection to a Cain; but Jehovah's method of treatment was different. He sent him forth alone into the desolate land of wandering to learn by hard experience the inevitable consequences of his wrongful act; but upon Cain he placed the tribal mark that was to preserve his life and open the door to his return to his fellows when once he was ready to atone for his past and live the life of a social citizen (Gen. $4^{15, 16a}$):

> But Jehovah said to him,
>
> 'Not so! if any one kill Cain,
> Vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold.'
>
> So Jehovah granted Cain a tribal mark, that any one finding him should not kill him. Thus Cain went out from the presence of Jehovah and dwelt in the land of Nod [Wandering].

Thus this ancient story suggests that better, diviner way of treating the criminal which makes punishment not an end but a means of redemption. Society must be protected from the attacks of the criminal. He also must be made to realise his responsibility for his unsocial acts, and others must be warned against committing similar crimes. But, above all, the criminal must be given a chance and be encouraged and taught by discipline and careful training to become again a loyal member of society.

The Survival of the Morally Fittest. Many students of the Bible may have questioned why the strange old Semitic tradition of the flood found a place in Genesis. Its prologue contains the explanation: it was to illustrate a great social principle (Gen. $6^{5-8, 14a}, 7^{1}$):

> When Jehovah saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every purpose in the thoughts of his heart was

> only evil continually, it was a source of regret that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him to his heart. Therefore Jehovah said, I will destroy from the face of the ground man whom I have created, for I regret that I have made mankind. But Noah found favour in the eyes of Jehovah. Therefore he said to Noah, 'Make thyself an ark of cypress wood.' . . . Then Jehovah said to Noah, 'Enter thou and all thy house into the ark, for thee have I found righteous before me in this generation.'

Here is a clear statement of the law of the survival of the morally fittest. Its background is the divine aim in creating man and the universe. It is the aim that is clearly stated in the second chapter of Genesis: to develop a perfect man and a perfect society. To the criminal Cain Jehovah gave an opportunity for social redemption. But the ancient story of the flood teaches that, as succeeding generations failed to improve their opportunities and steadily grew more degenerate, the heart of the Eternal was sorely grieved, for he saw that his benign purpose was being thwarted. When the trend of human civilisation was downward, the destruction of the morally unfit became necessary for the ultimate good of mankind. Thus the prophet goes back of the moral law to the underlying reasons. That this law is as definitely operative in human life as that of the survival of the physically fittest cannot be questioned. Each generation seems to present certain exceptions; but history abounds in illustrations of the broad principle: ancient Egypt, Babylon, and Rome in their later decadence, the France of Louis XIV, and the old Spanish Empire.

The Brotherhood of the Human Race. In the tenth chapter of Genesis is found an unscientific and rather uninteresting table of the nations. No one could seriously claim for it great historical or ethnological value; but it contains an underlying social principle which mankind after many centuries is just beginning to grasp and apply. In the simplest and most direct way it teaches that all nations are bound together by common blood and are the creation of one common God. Each is an integral part of the great human family which is the all-embracing social unit. Thus the ancient group of tra-

ditions in Genesis 2–10 begins with the origin of the individual family and ends with a broad fresco sketch of the entire human family. Underlying all these stories is the fundamental social doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, which later prophets and Jesus made the guiding principle in their plans for the organisation and regulation of society.

The Significance of the Prophetic Portrait of Abraham. Most of the social teachings of Genesis are negative. They illustrate unsocial qualities and their destructive effects. The Abraham and Joseph stories, however, are exceptions to this rule. Lot alone represents the unsocial citizen intent only on his own selfish interests. Abraham, as portrayed by the early prophetic historians, is the perfect embodiment of the highest nomadic social ideals. He is a devoted friend and servant of God and man, ever forgetful of his personal interests in his zeal to preserve peaceful relations with all mankind. Even to total strangers he shows the most delicate attentions that nomadic hospitality could suggest. His ambitions all centre about the future of his family or tribe. To realise these ambitions he is ready to leave home and kinsmen and brave the unknown dangers of a foreign land. His supreme joy is the assurance that his descendants will be many and rich and powerful (Gen. 15). Even for his unsocial kinsman Lot he persistently intercedes. His every thought and act are prompted by a highly developed social consciousness. He is the tireless servant of the social group. His devotion to his family illumines the exquisite story of the sending of his faithful household servant to secure a wife for his son Isaac (Gen. 24). The devotion and loyalty between master and servant here revealed are a priceless contribution to the world's social idealism. Already Abraham had intrusted to this household servant his material wealth and the direction of all his domestic affairs. Now he sends him out hundreds of miles into the trackless desert with camels laden with his most precious possessions. Moreover, he commissions him to perform a task that not only called for supreme diplomacy but also determined the future

prosperity of Abraham's family. The narrative clearly demonstrates that the devotion was not misplaced. Like Abraham, this nameless servant is one of the finest examples in literature of a socially minded citizen. He absolutely forgets his own comfort and interests in his eagerness to bring his mission to a successful issue. The story vividly illustrates what the relation of master and servant means, if both are governed by the principles of justice, brotherhood, and loyalty to each other and to their common interests.

The Socialising of the Unsocial Jacob. From the social point of view the early prophetic stories that gather about the names of Jacob and Esau, the traditional forefathers of the rival Israelites and Edomites, are exceedingly suggestive. Of the two, Esau is personally the more attractive, for he is good-natured, forgiving, and loves the great out-of-doors. But he lacks one quality that is absolutely essential in an efficient social citizen, and that is ambition. As is illustrated by the familiar story of the pottage, he cares more about satisfying his appetite at the moment than about the future of his race. Throughout life he remains an individualist and is, therefore, a negative quantity in the social equation.

Jacob at first had many of Cain's characteristics. He was selfish, grasping, and had no regard for his brother's rights. In stealing the birthright by deception he manifested the traits of a criminal. But, as his life unfolds, the unsocial Jacob is gradually transformed into a social citizen. Unlike Cain, he endured patiently the consequences of his own unsocial acts. Exile and heartless deception at the hands of the crafty Laban at last did their work. He learned his lessons in the harsh school of experience. Moreover, there was a social element in his ambition. He did not think merely of his own personal interests, but considered those of his descendants. The result is that the crafty, designing Jacob became in his later days a devoted father and a trustworthy member of society.

The social and ethical principles illustrated by these realistic Jacob stories are as important as they are obvious: he who is governed by self-interest and seeks by deceit to get the better

of his fellows thereby surrounds himself with a social barrier and creates in his own mind a fearful and distrustful attitude toward society. This attitude is disastrous to his own best development and makes him the enemy rather than the friend of all with whom he associates. In the hard school of experience God is constantly seeking to train men so that even the most selfish and perverse may become useful citizens. If they have within them a spark of devotion to the social order and to the power which works for righteousness, it may be gradually blown into a flame until it becomes the dominant passion.

Joseph, the Embodiment of the Agricultural Social Ideals. The story of Joseph is the biography of a thoroughly socialised citizen. As his father's favourite, he revealed while a boy certain unsocial traits. If he had remained in Palestine he would probably have grown up egoistical and overbearing. The injustice that he suffered at the hands of his brothers, painful though it was, gave him the training absolutely essential to his social development.

The Joseph stories are too familiar and simple to require retelling or detailed interpretation. One of the important social principles that they illustrate is that cheerfulness, courage, and a spirit of helpfulness, even in the presence of adversity and personal wrong, are the sure foundations of individual and social success. Loyalty to God is the star which alone guides men through the temptations and misfortunes of life to the truest happiness and the largest service to society. Men and nations are constantly in quest of trained leaders, but he who would lead must first learn to serve. All men are eager to serve him who is intent simply upon serving others. The man who, like Joseph, is loyal to his family is the one to whom, as a rule, great public interests may be safely intrusted. Society in all ages is seeking for loyal, efficient servants, and upon them it is ready to heap the highest honours. He who continues to be considerate for all and loyal to his ill-favoured kinsmen in the hour of public success has passed the severest test to which the successful man of affairs is subjected.

The place which the Joseph stories hold in the heart of hu-

manity is not merely due to their unique literary charm. It is because they present a rounded picture of a perfectly developed social citizen, destined to win success and honour in any well-organised society. They are a fitting crown to the marvellous stories that the author of Genesis has gathered from the lips of Israel's early social teachers.

IV

AMOS'S INTERPRETATION OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE RICH AND RULING CLASSES

Social Transformations in Northern Israel. The long half-century that lay between the work of Elisha and Amos witnessed great social transformations in Northern Israel. About 642 B.C. the military commander Jehu at the instigation of Elisha cut down the degenerate house of Ahab. He then sought to strengthen his position on the throne of Northern Israel by paying tribute to Assyria. Israel's old foes, the Arameans, however, for a quarter of a century overran and mercilessly pillaged the east-Jordan region and sapped the resources of Jehu's kingdom. The middle-class Hebrew who went out to defend his home either died on the battle-field or returned weakened and impoverished. Early in the eighth century came a turn in the fortunes of war. Damascus was attacked and weakened by a strong rival in northern Syria. Northern Israel recovered its east-Jordan territory. The spoils of conquest poured into the treasury of Jehu's grandson Jehoash and enriched his nobles and favourites. Peace enabled the nobles and richer classes in Israel to develop its naturally great resources. Commerce also brought to them rapidly increasing wealth, for across the broad valleys of Northern Israel ran the main trade routes which bore the rich products of Egypt and Babylonia, of Phœnicia and Arabia. During the first half of the eighth pre-Christian century Northern Israel ceased to be simply a nation of shepherds and farmers. Cities took the place of villages, and the fruits of commerce completed the sudden transformation. The powerful nobles and richer classes transferred their homes to the capital or to the larger cities. Meantime the middle class, as a result of the changing vicissitudes of war, had been

largely reduced to serfdom. Obliged to borrow of the rich nobles at exorbitant rates of interest, they had not only lost their mortgaged lands but their freedom. Heavy taxation and unjust decisions in the law-courts, over which the rich and ruling classes presided, had completed their enslavement. The love of luxury and display had rendered the rich rulers insensible to the sufferings of the poor, who were the victims of their greed and legalised injustice. To all external appearances Northern Israel was prosperous and powerful; but the majority of its citizens were sad and sodden, crushed by the small ruling class that wrongfully exploited them. Its social problems were those of the modern city and of a developed commercial civilisation. Special class privilege, misuse of authority, unjust distribution of the burden of taxation, and the iniquitous exploitation of the masses are the evils which called forth the Hebrew prophets of the eighth century. It is for this reason that their teachings, interpreted into universal terms, are as applicable to-day as they were twenty-seven centuries ago.

The Political and Religious Situation. The task of Amos and his fellow prophets was rendered doubly difficult by the fact that Northern Israel was then at the height of its national prosperity. Victories and wealth were regarded as convincing proofs that the nation enjoyed in a unique degree Jehovah's approval. The lavish gifts and elaborate ritual at the national sanctuary satisfied the national conscience and furnished the insecure basis for the prevailing optimism. This false confidence so blinded the eyes of Israel's leaders that they failed to appreciate the ominous significance of the steady approach of the invincible Assyrian armies. Social injustice was strongly intrenched in temple as well as in palace. If the mighty giants of social oppression that stalked abroad in the land were to be slain, a greater than David was needed. Again it was a Judean shepherd who went out single-handed to challenge the strong and deadly foes that threatened the peace and prosperity of Jehovah's people.

The Making of a New Type of Social Reformer. Twelve miles south of Jerusalem, on the border-land between the stony

green fields of Judah and the treeless, almost verdureless wilderness, stood the little town of Tekoa, the home of Amos. He is described as a shepherd who guarded flocks of sheep and goats such as may still be found among the rocky, rolling hills immediately north and east of Tekoa. At certain seasons of the year he appears to have found a slightly more lucrative occupation in caring for and gathering the figs of the sycamores which in time of need furnished food for the poorer classes. His instincts and training, however, are distinctly those of a shepherd. In this region where fear and the watching attitude are instinctive, he developed alertness and eyes keen to interpret signs of danger whether from prowling lion or Arab robber. In his constant watching over the defenseless sheep intrusted to his care he learned how to give the quick cry of alarm that was intended to warn the sheep and to summon the shepherds to their defense. In the quest for a market for the sheep and goats he probably often found his way to Jerusalem and especially to Bethel, the rich royal sanctuary of Northern Israel. There from the lips of the traders and story-tellers he doubtless gained definite ideas of the larger world that lay outside Palestine, of Egypt with its mysteriously rising river, of the irresistible Assyrian armies, of their cruel methods of conquest, and of their steady onward sweep toward the Mediterranean. Possibly his interests had led him to visit certain of these distant countries. With the experienced eye of the shepherd he was quick to appreciate the ominous meaning of the advance of the merciless Assyrian lion. In imagination he could already hear its distant roar. All his shepherd instincts prompted him to warn the people of Northern Israel, the flock that lay directly in the path of this appalling foe. With consternation he discovered how ill-prepared they were to resist the coming attack. The more he studied with his experienced eye the social conditions in the northern kingdom, the more he was convinced that the calamity was coming not because Jehovah was unable to avert it but because Israel richly deserved it. And yet all his shepherd training made it impossible for him to stand by in silence while the Assyrian lion leaped upon its unsuspecting

prey. Instead, he clearly felt that his appreciation of the perilous situation was a divine commission to sound the cry of warning:

> Surely the Lord Jehovah doeth nothing,
> Unless he revealeth his purpose to his servants, the prophets.
> The lion has roared; who does not fear?
> The Lord Jehovah hath spoken; who can but prophesy?

Thus he explained his presence at Bethel when his right to prophesy there was challenged.

Amos's Methods of Social Reform. The social and moral conditions in Northern Israel compelled Amos to present his teachings largely in negative form. His prophetic addresses are filled with trenchant invective, stern denunciation, doom songs, and visions of coming destruction. They are characterised by their clear and pitiless logic. Amos always went straight to the point, and yet in his opening address he shows marvellous tact. As he pronounced divine judgment upon the cruel acts of Israel's heathen foes, the Arameans, the Philistines, and the Ammonites, he not only gained an attentive hearing from a hostile audience but he also led his hearers to accept great social principles, which he compelled them by the sheer logic of fact and argument to apply to themselves. Thus he forced them to pronounce their own condemnation. It is evident, however, that beneath his stern exterior Amos carried a warm heart. His ultimate motive was not to condemn Israel but to save it from the terrible but well-deserved fate which awaited it. His positive social teachings are inferred rather than expressed. Sometimes, however, he strikes a strong constructive note which pierces the dark, lowering storm-clouds like a brilliant ray of sunshine (Am. $5^{14, 15}$):

> Seek good and not evil,
> That you may live;
> That this Jehovah, God of hosts,
> May be with you, as you have said.
> Hate evil and love good,

And establish justice in the gate.
Perhaps Jehovah will be gracious,
The God of hosts to a remnant of Joseph.

Amos's Teaching Regarding the Duties of Rulers. The earlier prophets like Moses and Elijah dealt with kings and were conscious of having the support of the majority of their nation. Amos arraigned the rich and ruling classes. The only support of which he was conscious was that of the God who sent him and the mute gratitude of the masses whose cause he championed. With supreme courage he confronted the leading representatives of the classes which he arraigned and directed against them his sternest denunciation. He had evidently often sat beside the city gate and witnessed the proceedings of the Hebrew courts. His charge against Israel's rulers is expressed in distinctly legal terms. Jehovah is the plaintiff. With fine sarcasm even the heathen Philistines and Egyptians are called in as witnesses and judges (Am. $3^{9, 10}$):

Proclaim over the palaces in Ashdod,
And over the palaces in the land of Egypt,
'Gather upon the mountain of Samaria,
And see the manifold tumults,
And acts of oppression in its midst;
For they know not how to do right,
They are heaping up violence and oppression.'

The positive principle underlying his stern arraignment is that the first duty of rulers is to protect jealously and valiantly the rights of the poor and defenseless.

That which especially alarmed and aroused the hot indignation of this shepherd of Tekoa was the groundless optimism and the absolute lack of responsibility that characterised the attitude of the rulers both of Judah and Israel. With fine sarcasm he characterises them (Am. $6^{1, 3}$):

Alas for those who are careless in Zion,
And overconfident on the mountain of Samaria!
Men of mark of the first of the nations,

To whom the house of Israel resort!
They who would postpone the day of calamity,
And yet have instituted a rule of violence.

So vividly does he picture these misleaders of the nation that the very men themselves thus characterised must have turned with loathing from the disgraceful picture (Am. 6^{4-6}):

They who lie on ivory couches,
And sprawl upon their divans,
And eat lambs from the flock,
And calves from out the stall;
They drawl to the sound of the lyre,
Like David, they devise for themselves instruments of song.
They drink bowlfulls of wine,
And anoint themselves with the finest of oil,
But they do not grieve over the ruin of Joseph!

In these powerful lines Amos set before humanity a new social principle which the human race has been slow to appreciate and apply. It is that rulers who deliberately shut their eyes to national perils and continue to indulge their own selfish cravings for luxury and pleasure are traitors to their nation, for they are directly responsible for the ruin that will inevitably result from their neglect of duty. The officials whom Amos denounced were the corrupt, grafting politicians of his day who used public office as an opportunity for private plunder and who felt no pity for the helpless masses whom they were leading on to ruin. Amos was keenly aware of the appalling fact that the weak and innocent suffer alike for the crimes of the strong and guilty. With impassioned zeal he proclaims in the name of Jehovah the direful consequences of the guilt of Israel's rulers (Am. $6^{7, 8b, a, c-e, 11b, c}$):

'Therefore now they must go into exile at the head of the captives,
And hushed shall be the revelry of the sprawlers.'
It is the oracle of Jehovah, the God of hosts.
Jehovah hath sworn by himself:
'I abhor the pride of Jacob,

And his palaces I hate,
Therefore I will deliver up the city and all that is in it,
And one shall smite the great house into atoms,
And the small house into fragments.'

The Responsibility of Judges. Like every true Hebrew prophet, Amos was zealous to preserve the purity of Israel's law-courts. He clearly saw that the perversion of this institution was one of the most fertile causes of the economic enslavement of the masses. Ancient Israel does not appear to have had a distinct class of judges. The elders and nobles of each town and city, the royal officials, and, as the supreme court of appeal, the king himself sat in judgment to decide all civil disputes. It is not strange, therefore, that when justice was intrusted to such rulers as Amos found in Northern Israel, the weak were trampled in the mire and the humble were enslaved. Amos's words addressed to those who sit in judgment at the city gates stand as an eternal arraignment of all who, under the guise of authority and legality, pervert the cause of justice (Am. $5^{7, 10, 12}$):

Alas, for those who turn judgment to wormwood,
And cast righteousness to the ground,
Who hate him that reproves in the gate,
And abhor one that speaks uprightly!
Surely I know how many are your transgressions,
And how great are your sins!
You persecutors of the righteous, takers of bribes!
Yea, the needy in the gate they thrust aside!

Responsibilities of the Rich. Riches in antiquity were ordinarily regarded as an index of divine favour. The Oriental is inclined to bow slavishly before a rich man. Amos was the first teacher in Israel's history, if not in the history of humanity, to raise his voice in indignant protest against wealth unjustly acquired. He recognised that riches gained by exploiting the poor and dependent are a deadly menace to society. His words indicate that all the evils of corrupt commercialism were rampant in the Northern Israel of his day (Am. 8^{4-6}):

Hear this, you who trample upon the needy,
And oppress the poor of the earth, saying,
'When shall the new moon pass that we may sell grain,
And the sabbath that we may open the corn'—
Making smaller the measure and enlarging the weight,
And perverting the false balances—
'And that we may sell the refuse of the corn!'

With the remarkable thoroughness which characterised all his thinking, Amos traced the cruel exploitation of the defenseless masses back to its ultimate source; then with a blunt boldness which the situation amply justified he turned upon the wives of the nobles, who had left their country estates and were living lives of idle pleasure and luxury in the capital of Samaria, with this scathing condemnation (Am. 4^{1-3}):

Hear this word,
You kine of Bashan, who dwell in the mountain of Samaria,
Who oppress the poor and crush the needy,
Who say to your husbands, 'Bring that we may drink.'
The Lord Jehovah hath sworn by his holiness:
'Behold, days are coming upon you,
When you shall be taken away with hooks, even the last of you with fish-hooks,
And through the breaches shall you go out, each woman straight before her.'

The principle which he here states is universally applicable. Perilous, indeed, is the status of any society in which the women have stifled their natural impulses to alleviate pain and their feelings of pity for the unfortunate and are so completely governed simply by their selfish animal appetites that they incite the men to deeds of heartless oppression.

The Universal Brotherhood of Man and Its Obligations. Democracy and brotherhood are the two leading ideas that underlie all of Amos's social teachings. He was also the first prophet in Israel's history to state definitely that Jehovah is as active in the history of other nations as in that of Israel (Am. 9^{7}):

'Are ye not to me as the Cushites,
O Israel?' is the oracle of Jehovah.
'Did I not bring up Israel out of the land of Egypt,
And the Philistines from Caphtor and the Arameans from Kir?'

In this characteristically concrete way Amos declared the then revolutionary truth that Jehovah was not merely the God of Israel but of all the great family of nations. In his tactful but vigorous introduction he goes even farther. The grounds of his condemnation of Israel's heathen enemies, the Arameans, the Philistines, and the Ammonites ($1^{3, 16}$), is that in their treatment of their hated foes they have disregarded the universal laws of humanity. With splendid tact and effectiveness he places the Israelites on the same basis. "For three, yea, four transgressions of Israel," as well as of Aram and Philistia and Moab, Jehovah's judgment is about to descend. Moreover, upon the thrice-guilty Israelites it was to fall the heaviest. Heathen and Hebrew alike are condemned because they had sinned against their social conscience and failed to treat even their foes with brotherly consideration. The Arameans are condemned "because they have threshed Gilead (*i. e.*, the Israelites dwelling east of the Jordan and south of the Yarmuk) with threshing instruments of iron"; the Philistines "because they have carried away captive all the people to deliver them up as slaves to Edom"; the Ammonites "because they have ripped up the pregnant women of Gilead." The same dire judgment falls upon the men of Northern Israel (Am. 2^{6d-8}),

Because they sell the righteous for money,
And the needy for a pair of shoes.
Who trample on the head of the poor,
And turn aside the way of the humble.
And a man and his father go in to the same maid,
And so profane my holy name;
Upon garments taken in pledge they stretch themselves beside every altar,
And the wine of those who have been fined they drink in the house of their God.

Cruelty to either friend or foe is the deadliest sin in Amos's decalogue. Justice, brotherly love, and kindness are the cardinal virtues. Fidelity to the demands of justice and human brotherhood alone will, he declared, save men and classes and nations from the uncontrolled greed and hatred that inevitably involve them in utter ruin. Thus the clear-eyed prophet of Tekoa saw and proclaimed eternal principles which, if appreciated and applied in the market-place, in the public tribunals, in the councils of state, and in the parliament of nations, would long ago have inaugurated the era of universal peace and good will that is still the unrealised ideal of humanity.

V

HOSEA'S ANALYSIS OF THE FORCES THAT DESTROY AND UPBUILD SOCIETY

The Personal Experience That Made Hosea a Social Teacher. Within less than a decade, possibly the same year that Amos delivered his revolutionary address at Bethel, Hosea, the son of Beeri, began his work as a prophet. He spoke not as an outsider but as a native of Northern Israel. His home appears to have been in one of the villages of Gilead east of the Jordan. He was a man of deep and warm affections. He was governed more by his strong emotions and profound intuitions than by cold logic. He reveals intimate familiarity at every point with Israel's traditions and institutions. He was well acquainted with the complex political situation in southwestern Asia and the baffling problems which confronted the statesmen of Israel. As a devoted patriot he analysed the conditions in Northern Israel and set forth his convictions with a boldness and courage unsurpassed even by the shepherd-prophet from Tekoa.

At first Hosea echoed Amos's stern, uncompromising message of doom. He dramatically proclaimed it in the names that he gave to his children. "Unpitied" and "Not-my-people" were strange names to give to a girl and boy; but they constantly reminded the people of Hosea's declaration that Jehovah had rejected his people because of their persistent crimes.

Fortunately, the prophet has made clear the way in which the great change came in his message and in his interpretation of God's attitude toward his people. With breaking heart he tells how Gomer, the wife whom he loved and cherished, proved faithless and fled from his home to lead a life of infamy. The tragedy of his family life revealed to the anguished

prophet the deadly effect of social immorality on the home and on society. He realised that not only "they who sow the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption," but that often the innocent, who love the sinner most, suffer most the torturing consequences of sin. In the laboratory of life Hosea discovered the social principles which make his prophecies in many ways the most original and revolutionising contribution to the philosophy of society that the Old Testament contains. He was Israel's great moral and social diagnostician because, as a result of his own painful experience, he learned to look upon life and human society through the eyes of love.

Hosea's Conception of the Obligations of Husbands and Wives. Hosea, not merely by his words but by his supreme act of devotion to his wife, Gomer, established a new standard of marital responsibility. Like Cleopatra, in Shakespeare's immortal play, Gomer appears to have been simply an undeveloped animal type. All the laws and customs of the old Semitic world gave Hosea full authority to divorce and forever banish from his home and heart his disloyal wife. Plainly he voices the initial impulse which prompted him to do so (Hos. $2^{2b, c, 4, 5a, b}$):

> For she is not my wife,
> And I will not be her husband;
> And on her children I will have no pity,
> Since they are children of whoredom,
> For their mother has become a harlot,
> She who conceived them has behaved shamefully.

Then the prophet tells of the diviner impulse that came to him and mastered his will. It was clearly the powerful love which he still felt for the woman who had so cruelly wronged him. In the later perspective of years he realised that this was, indeed, the voice of Jehovah within him saying (Hos. 3^{1}):

> Still go, love [this] woman,
> Who loves a paramour and is an adulteress,
> As Jehovah loveth the Israelites,
> Although they turn to other gods.

Even though Gomer had gone rapidly down the precipitous path of sin and had, it appears, been put up for sale by her paramour as a common slave, Hosea did not hesitate to pay the price for her liberation (Hos. $3^{2,3}$):

> So I bought her to me for fifteen pieces of silver and eight bushels of barley and a measure of barley.
>
> And I said to her:
> 'Many days shall you abide for me,
> You shall not play the harlot,
> And you shall not be any man's wife,
> Yet I, on my part, will be yours.'

In practice society has been slow to accept and apply the lofty principle which Hosea established eight centuries before the greater Teacher of Nazareth commanded his followers: "Do to others as you would have them do to you." Gomer's crime appears to have been entirely without palliation. Yet, by his treatment of her, Hosea taught that even though wives prove utterly unfaithful, their husbands are still under moral obligation to use every possible method to reclaim and restore them to a life of purity and fidelity. Moreover, all the logic of Hosea's teachings implies that if the faithless one through true penitence seeks forgiveness and strives to live a life of rectitude, she should have not only the protection but the love of her husband. At least Hosea taught in the most effective way possible—namely, by personal example—that divorce is the remedy for the most heinous of social crimes only when kindly discipline and love have been tested to the uttermost.

The Effects of Social Immorality. Hosea lived in an age when the corrupt Canaanite cults had left a deep, foul stain upon Israel's social life. In opulent Northern Israel social immorality was everywhere rampant. Even the public sanctuaries were scenes of gross licentiousness. Wherever the old Canaanite customs prevailed virtue was sacrificed and the gratification of the lower passions was regarded as a religious act.

Hosea was undoubtedly led to analyse these iniquities and to denounce them unsparingly because the hideous evil had laid its hand upon his own home and rendered it desolate. He was apparently the first man in human history to combat boldly the double standard which places the entire burden of guilt upon the fallen woman and lets the man go free. He maintained that not the maidens and the wives but their fathers and brothers were alone responsible (Hos. 4^{12c-14}):

> For a spirit of harlotry has led them astray,
> So that they have played the harlot from after their God.
> On the heights of the mountains they sacrifice,
> And on the hills they burn their offerings,
> Under oaks and poplars and terebinths,
> For their shade is pleasant!
> Therefore your daughters play the harlot,
> And your brides commit adultery.
> I will not punish your daughters because they play the harlot,
> Nor your brides because they commit adultery,
> And sacrifice with consecrated prostitutes.
> Thus the stupid people come to ruin!

Hosea also declared that social immorality destroys the intelligence and moral sense of those who indulge in it and that it means in the end the sterility of the race (Hos. 4^{11}, 9^{11b}):

> Harlotry and sweet wine take away the understanding.
> There shall be no more birth, no more motherhood, no more conception.

The Social Effects of Deceit and Robbery. None of the Hebrew prophets had a warmer heart than Hosea. None were more loyal to their race. None could love with a more passionate devotion. Indeed, it was because of his profound love for his people that he denounced the sins that were destroying them more bitterly than did any other prophet. He realised that so long as Israel continued to practise these crimes it was impossible for even God himself to heal its social ills and to help it to realise its destiny (Hos. 4^{1-3}):

Hear the word of Jehovah, O Israelites,
For Jehovah hath a charge against the inhabitants of the land;
For there is no fidelity, nor true love,
Nor knowledge of God in the land,
But perjury, lying and murder,
Stealing, committing adultery and deeds of violence,
And acts of bloodshed follow in quick succession.
Therefore the land mourns,
And all its inhabitants languish,
Together with the wild beasts and the birds of the heavens,
While even the fish of the sea are swept away.

By his use of strong hyperbole Hosea stressed the eternal truth that not only the happiness of the individual but also the welfare of the world were dependent upon men's moral and social integrity. In the light of his own tragic experience he saw that the only correctives for such heinous crimes as perjury, falsehood, and murder were a true love for God and men and an intelligent loyalty to the noble purpose which the Personality back of all history is seeking to realise in human society. In the passage just quoted there appears for the first time Hosea's most characteristic word, *hĕsĕdh,* which is translated *love, mercy,* and *loving-kindness.* It is one of the strongest social terms in the Hebrew language. It describes a love which is expressed not in mere vague emotions but in definite acts of mercy and kindness. It is a type of love which was nobly exemplified in Hosea's treatment of his erring wife. It is the dominant emotion which Paul so gloriously describes in his immortal apostrophe to love in I Corinthians 13. In Hosea's searching analysis of the evils that are destroying Israel, perjury and lying are the antitheses of fidelity and honesty. The supremely unsocial acts of murder, stealing, adultery, violence, and bloodshed are possible because men are not controlled by love.

The Divine Lover. Hosea's greatest contribution to religion and to the science of society is his teaching regarding God's relation to man. Here he analyses the ultimate motives that prompt right social thinking and living. With a boldness

that has no parallel in pre-Christian literature he portrays Jehovah as Israel's Lover. The form in which he first presented this revolutionary teaching was largely determined by his own personal experience. It is clear that his impulse to be merciful to his guilty wife opened his eyes to Jehovah's love for his disloyal people. The analogy is very close. Even as the prophet loved the youthful maiden Gomer, wooed and won her, so Jehovah first loved and wedded Israel. Like Gomer, Israel proved faithless, and yet the divine Lover never ceased to cherish the nation. The second chapter of Hosea contains a marvellous monologue in which the unswerving affection, the bitter anguish, and the ardent hope of the divine Lover are vividly revealed. It opens with impassioned words addressed to the people of Israel, who are entreated to reason with their mother the nation, Jehovah's wife, that she may be led to turn from her crime and thus avert the strenuous discipline to which her divine Lover must otherwise subject her (Hos. $2^{2a, d, e, 3}$):

> Strive with your mother, strive,
> That she put her acts of whoredom from her sight,
> And her adulteries from between her breasts,
> Lest I strip her naked,
> And set her as she was on the day of her birth,
> And make her like the wilderness,
> And let her become like a parched land,
> And let her die of thirst.

The children, however, are blinded by their baneful inheritance and Israel is still intent upon following the gods of fertility from which in her ignorance she thinks her prosperity comes. Hence the divine love can be expressed only in discipline (Hos. $2^{6, 7}$, *cf.* $^{8-13}$):

> Therefore I am going to hedge up her ways with thorns,
> And build a wall about her,
> So that she cannot find her paths.
> And she will pursue her paramours,
> But will not overtake them,
> And she will seek and not find them.

Hosea fully realised and taught that in the divine economy punishment was never an end in itself but only a means to a higher end. In imagination he pictures the divine Lover as looking forward to the day when discipline shall have done its work and love could find perfect expression. No more stirring love-song can be found in the world's literature, for it voices the love of the divine Lover for human society (Hos. 2^{14-20}):

Therefore I am going to allure her,
And bring her into the wilderness,
And speak endearingly to her.
And I will give her from there her vineyards,
And the valley of Achor as a door of hope,
And there she shall respond as in the days of her youth,
As in the days when she came up from the land of Egypt.
And it shall be in that day, is the oracle of Jehovah,
She shall call to her husband,
And shall call no more to the Baalim.
And I will remove the name of the Baalim from her mouth,
And they shall no more be mentioned by their names.
And I will betroth her to me forever,
Yea, I will betroth her to me in righteousness,
And in judgment, and in kindness, and in mercy,
Yea, I will betroth her to me in faithfulness,
And she shall know Jehovah.

In these impassioned words Hosea sets forth his central social teaching. Righteousness, justice, kindness, love, and fidelity are the essential and only foundations on which an intimate and abiding relationship between God and mankind can be established. Hosea's figure describes that relationship as closer than even that between parent and child. When once it is firmly established the foundations of a perfect society and a perfect world will be laid. Being a prophet of agricultural Israel and a poet who loved nature, as revealed in the radiant beauty of fertile Palestine, Hosea pictures the ultimate social state in concrete terms drawn from the productive vineyards and the waving fields of Northern Israel. He addresses Israel by its ancient name Jezreel, whose meaning, *God sows*, was now

a reminder not of Jehu's crime (Hos. 1^{4}) but of the prosperity that awaited the nation whenever it merited Jehovah's favour (Hos. 2^{21-23}):

> And it shall come to pass in that day,
> That I will speak,—it is the oracle of Jehovah,—
> I will speak to the heavens,
> And they will speak to the earth.
> And the earth will speak to the grain,
> And the new wine and the oil;
> And they shall speak to Jezreel,
> And I will sow her in the land.
> And I will have pity upon the unpitied,
> And I will say to Not-my-people, 'Thou art my people,'
> And they will say, 'Thou art my God.'

In a later passage Hosea apparently uses the figure of father in describing Jehovah's love for his people. While the translation at certain points is doubtful, the meaning of the passage as a whole is clear. As in a mighty symphony, the two contrasting emotions of divine love and of human disloyalty struggle together in this wonderful monologue (Hos. $11^{1-5, 8, 9}$):

> When Israel was young, then I began to love him,
> And out of Egypt I called his sons.
> The more I called them,
> The further they went away from me.
> They kept sacrificing to Baalim,
> And making offerings to images.
>
> Yet it was I who taught Ephraim to walk,
> Taking them up in my arms;
> But they did not know that I healed them;
> With humane cords I ever drew them,
> With bands of love.
> And I was to them as one who lifts up the yoke from off their jaws,
> And bending toward him, I gave him food to eat.
>
> He must return to the land of Egypt,
> Or Assyria will be their king;
> For they have refused to return to me.

How can I give thee up, O Ephraim! how can I give thee over,
O Israel!
How am I to give thee up as Admah! make thee like Zeboim!
My heart asserts itself;
My sympathies are all aglow.
I will not carry into effect the fierceness of my anger;
I will not turn to destroy Ephraim.
For God am I, and not man,
Holy in the midst of thee, therefore I will not consume.

In the end divine love triumphs. If this passage stood alone it would seem that this triumph was won at the cost of divine justice; but in the light of Hosea's teachings as a whole it is obvious that there is no antithesis between divine love and justice. In the presence of defiant wrong-doing divine justice and discipline are the only possible expressions of love. Hosea makes it absolutely clear that all of Israel's seeming misfortunes, the calamity which overtook the pioneer nation in the valley of Achor (which means sorrow), her earlier conflicts with neighbouring nations, and even the Assyrian scourge are but Jehovah's method of teaching her the way in which she should walk and the folly of disobedience and disloyalty. As in Thompson's *Hound of Heaven*, God is unescapable, but his tireless pursuit is prompted only by love.

Hosea's Contributions to Israel's Social Ideals. The first impression conveyed by Hosea's brilliant impassioned addresses is that he was a preacher and theologian rather than a social teacher. A closer study, however, makes it clear that he was one of the most scientific of the prophets, for his fundamental teachings are not dogmatic nor metaphysical, but are based on personal experience and a careful study of the psychological forces which mould society. He spoke with power and conviction because he stood squarely on reality; but he dealt not merely with external acts but also with underlying motives. He recognised that a man's will, and therefore his every act, is governed as much by his emotions as by his intelligence. Hence he sought to develop normal feelings in the heart of the individual and society, so that whatever be the social environ-

ment a right response would be assured. In other words, for external control through law and custom and public opinion he sought to substitute social self-control.

Hosea also revolutionised man's conception of God and the function of human society. He anticipated by eight centuries Jesus' teaching that God is love and that personal loyalty to him ("Seek first the rule of God") is the essential prerequisite of a perfect social order. Hosea vastly simplified the idea of religion when he declared that God is the supreme Lover and that man is the chief object of his love. With intuitions sharpened by painful personal experience he recognised that the dominant passion of every true lover is to perfect the character and happiness of the one loved. He saw, too, that God cannot alone perfect society. If love is to realise itself fully it must be reciprocated. Hence, when the prophet saw the perjury, the falsehood, the immorality, the oppression, and the apostasy of the Northern Israelites he realised with horror how far they were from attaining to the social ideal of their divine Lover. In the immortal passage found in Hosea 6^{4-6} the prophet makes Jehovah himself declare in impassioned words these basal truths:

> What can I make of you, O Ephraim!
> What can I make of you, O Israel!
> Since your love is like a morning cloud,
> Yea, like the dew which early goes away.
> Therefore I have hewn them by the prophets,
> I have slain them by the words of my mouth.
> And my judgment is like the light that goes forth,
> For it is love that I delight in and not sacrifice,
> And knowledge of God and not burnt-offerings.

Hosea's analysis of the causes of the crimes which destroy society is as simple as it is satisfying. Men wrong their fellows because they are not inspired by a passionate loyalty to God. They are unfaithful to God because they do not love him. They do not love him because they do not truly know him

(Hos. 4^1). To the entire group of Israel's faithless teachers the prophet declared (Hos. 4^{6a}):

> Thy people are being destroyed for lack of knowledge.

Hosea's solution, therefore, of the social problem was as simple as his analysis. If we are to have a perfect social order men must first gain an intimate knowledge of the character and purpose of that divine Lover who created man and is ever seeking to develop a perfect humanity. Hosea firmly believed that "only they who know can serve." He taught, therefore, that religious education is the first step toward any lasting social reform. When once men know God not only through instruction but also through personal insight and experience, they will love both him and their fellow men, who are the chief objects of his love. When they truly love God and their fellow men they will be faithful to all their social obligations. Then, like streams cut off from their sources, the vices and crimes which sweep society on to its ruin will vanish and a perfect social order will be established. The first task, therefore, of Israel's teachers and of all social reformers is, according to Hosea, to make men intimately acquainted with God and thereby to kindle in their hearts that divine love and loyalty which will bind them to their divine Lover and to their fellow men. Thus Hosea proclaimed that real religion is the supreme motive power in all enduring social reform.

VI

THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF THE STATESMAN ISAIAH

The Social Conditions That Confronted Isaiah. During the stirring days when Hosea was laying down his fundamental social principles in Northern Israel, Isaiah, the son of Amoz, entered upon his work as a prophet in Judah. Like Demosthenes, the great Athenian orator and statesman, Isaiah, Israel's greatest orator, began his public career as a social reformer. In the sixth chapter of his prophecy he gives a vivid though highly figurative description of the way in which he became a prophet. The underlying reason why he took this important step was evidently because he was keenly alive to the fact that he belonged to "a people of unclean lips." The social conditions in Judah which led him to this conviction were very similar to those in Northern Israel. Judah was not so wealthy nor prosperous nor so much exposed to the influx of foreign ideas as its northern rival; but during the long reign of Uzziah (782–739 B.C.) the belated tide of prosperity had at last swept into the southern kingdom. The king had gained a victory over the Philistines and pushed the borders of Judah out into the western plain. Conquest of the Edomites had also opened up commerce with Arabia and Africa through the port of Elath. Foreign products, customs, and ideas had poured into Judah. Royal favouritism and remunerative commerce had developed a wealthy ruling class. The old simple life and the happy middle class had as a result suddenly disappeared. The same social evils were rampant in Judah as in the north: legal injustice in the courts, misuse of political authority to exploit the dependent and labouring classes, luxury, debauchery, and incompetency on the part of the rulers.

The Influences That Made Isaiah a Prophet. It is obvious that the conditions which confronted Isaiah stirred his conscience and powerfully appealed to his patriotism; but it is equally clear that another force was also at work in the mind of the young noble of Jerusalem. He declares that, like all the true prophets who had preceded him, he was inspired and impelled by a clarifying vision of the character and purpose of Jehovah. The God whom he saw in his vision when he went up to pray at the temple, as the startling news came of the death of King Uzziah, was the divine King, majestic and holy, directing in justice and righteousness the destinies of men. At once this vivid glimpse of reality became the motive force in his life. Henceforth Isaiah's great mission was to influence his fellow men to be loyal to the demands of this altogether just and holy Ruler and thus to share in establishing his kingdom on earth. Wherever Isaiah found injustice or anything that was incompatible with his lofty conception of the divinely perfect state, he tactfully but uncompromisingly assailed it. Conditions in Judah were so corrupt that most of his social teachings are negative. Often they are simply a reiteration of the principles already laid down by Amos. At the same time it is not difficult to detect, even in his most bitter invectives, the outlines of the perfect social order which he was striving to establish.

Isaiah's Denunciation of the Corrupt Rulers of Judah. With all the force of his brilliant oratory Isaiah attacked the faithless guides who were leading astray his people. In the name of Jehovah he preferred a sweeping charge against the elders and the princes (Is. $3^{14b-15b}$):

> You yourselves have devoured the vineyards,
> The spoils of the needy are in your houses.
> What do you mean by crushing my people
> And by grinding the face of the needy?

Isaiah declared that graft was written all over Judah's public life. Like Amos, he saw that this graft, unless it was removed,

meant not only individual suffering but national weakness and ruin (Is. 1^{21-23}):

> How hath she become an harlot, the once faithful city!
> Zion, which was full of justice, where righteousness abode!
> Thy silver is changed to dross, thy wine is mixed with water,
> Thy rulers are unruly and in league with thieves,
> All of them love bribes and are running after fees;
> They do not vindicate the orphan,
> And the cause of the widow does not affect them.

Lowell (in *A Parable*) has clearly interpreted these teachings of Amos and Isaiah into modern terms:

> Have ye founded your thrones, then,
> On the bodies and souls of living men?
> And think ye that that building will endure
> Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?

Isaiah, like Amos, also recognised that a nation is in imminent peril when its women are intent simply on their personal adornment and in displaying their physical charms. He was vividly concrete and pitilessly direct. Effectively he draws the sharp contrast between the unnatural display and pride of the age and the horrors of captivity and conquest which impend (Is. $3^{16, 17, 24-26}$, 4^{1}):

> And Jehovah saith: 'Because Zion's daughters are haughty
> And walk with heads held high, and wanton glances,
> Tripping along as they go and jingling with their ankles,
> Therefore, the Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head
> of the daughters of Zion,
> And Jehovah will expose their shame.
> And instead of perfume there shall be rottenness;
> And instead of a girdle, a rope;
> Instead of carefully arranged hair, baldness;
> And instead of the beautiful garment, sackcloth;
> Branding instead of beauty.
> Thy men shall fall by the sword and thy warriors in battle.

And her gates shall sigh and lament,
And she shall sit on the ground despoiled.
And seven women shall take hold of one man in that day,
Saying, "Our own bread will we eat, and our own garments will we wear,
Only let us bear thy name; take thou away our disgrace!"'

Isaiah's Denunciation of Judicial Injustice. Isaiah, like Amos, was a relentless foe of all forms of official corruption. In words never to be forgotten by the human race he brands these crimes (Is. 5^{23}):

Woe to those who for a bribe vindicate the wicked,
And strip the innocent man of his innocence.

In another memorable utterance the prophet is apparently dealing with unjust class legislation (Is. 10^{1-4b}):

Woe to those who set up iniquitous decrees,
And the scribes who devote themselves to writing oppression,
To turn aside the dependent from securing justice,
To despoil the afflicted of my people of their right,
That widows may be their prey,
And that they may spoil orphans!
What, then, will you do in the day of punishment,
And of the driving tempest which shall come from afar?
To whom will you flee for aid,
And where will you leave your wealth?
Only as they crouch under the captives,
And fall under the slain.

Land Monopoly. In the simple life of little Judah economic evils were quickly revealed. Land was the one great natural resource. In Isaiah's denunciation of those who by fair means or foul absorb the hereditary estates of their less successful neighbours until they acquire broad acres in which to dwell in ease and quiet, he enunciated a new and exceedingly important social principle (Is. 5^{8-10}):

Woe to those who join house to house,
Who add field to field

Until there is no space left,
And you dwell alone in the midst of the land.
In mine ears Jehovah of hosts hath sworn,
Surely many houses shall become a desolation,
Though great and fair, they shall be without inhabitants;
For ten acres of vineyard will yield but one bushel,
And ten bushels of seed but one bushel of grain.

It is probable that Isaiah would have condemned all monopoly that is simply egoistic (*i. e.*, that "a man may dwell alone in the midst of the land"). The principle applies equally in the present age with its great private corporations organised to control natural resources. When such a monopoly is conducted simply or primarily for the interests of the limited group who control it, it is a foe to society, even though in our modern complex economic organisation the moral crime involved may not be as obvious as it was in the days of Isaiah. The underlying principle laid down by the prophet is all the more impressive because it was enunciated by one who by inheritance and social standing appears to have been closely allied with the ruling and wealthy class. It stands as an ideal yet to be realised in society. Modern social prophets are still looking forward to the day when all who are willing to work will share in the natural resources of the earth in proportion to their contributions to the common good.

The Economic Significance of Intemperance and Luxury. Isaiah, like Amos, was also keenly aware of the economic and social significance of intemperance and unwarranted luxury. Wealth and personal ability were in his mind sacred trusts to be faithfully administered for the welfare of society. Therefore he bitterly arraigns those who manifest zeal simply in satisfying their own appetites (Is. $5^{11\text{-}17}$):

Woe to those who rise at dawn
To pursue strong drink,
Who tarry late in the evening
Until wine inflames them,
And lyre and harp and timbrel

And flute and wine are at their banquets;
But they regard not the work of Jehovah,
And see not what his hands have made.
Therefore my people go into captivity unprepared,
And their men of wealth are famished,
And their noisy revellers are parched with thirst.
Therefore Sheol yawns greedily
And to the widest extent opens its mouth;
And Zion's nobles and her noisy revellers shall go down into it,
Together with her careless throng and all who rejoice within her,
And lambs graze as in a wilderness,
And fatlings feed amid the ruins.

In imagination Isaiah saw Judah going down to Sheol as a result of the careless self-indulgence of its leaders, and Jerusalem, its capital, a ruin amidst which the shepherds and herdsmen pasture their flocks and herds. Hence it is not strange that he turned with cutting irony upon those who were thus betraying their nation (Is. $5^{22, 23}$):

Woe to those who are heroic in drinking wine,
And valiant in mixing strong drink!
Who for a bribe vindicate the wicked,
And strip the innocent man of his innocence!

Man's Attitude toward God. Isaiah, like Hosea, realised that the highest social efficiency was impossible without a right relation to the divine Personality who directs and gives unity to all life. He knew that the reason why he was a social reformer was because of his never-to-be-forgotten vision of God and of his holiness which gave a definite objective and unity to all his social endeavours. Hence he denounced as traitors those who taunted him and gloried in their scepticism (Is. 5^{19}),

Who say, 'Let what he would do hasten,
Let it come speedily that we may see it,
Let the purpose of Israel's Holy One draw near,
And come that we may receive it!'

In the later crisis of 703–701 B.C. Isaiah warned the leaders of Judah (Is. $28^{14-16a, 18}$):

> Therefore hear the word of Jehovah, you scornful men,
> You rulers of this people which is in Jerusalem:
> Because you have said, 'We have entered into a treaty with death,
> And with Sheol we have made a compact,
> When the overwhelming scourge comes it shall not reach us,
> For we have made a lie our trust and in falsehood we have taken refuge.'
> Therefore, thus saith the Lord Jehovah:
> 'Your covenant with death shall be broken,
> And your compact with Sheol shall not stand,
> When the overwhelming scourge passes over you, you shall be trampled down by it.'

Even more intolerable to Isaiah was hypocrisy (Is. $29^{13, 14}$):

> And Jehovah saith, 'Because this people draw near with their mouth,
> And honour me with their lips, while their heart is far from me,
> So that their fear of me is nothing more than a precept taught by men,
> Therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a thing so wonderful and astonishing,
> That the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, the discernment of their discerning ones shall be eclipsed.'

To a broad-minded statesman like Isaiah the lot of his nation, misled by sceptical, hypocritical leaders, was supremely tragic. The problems of society seemed to him exceedingly simple, for he approached them from the religious point of view. In repeated crises he was able to save his nation by his wise counsel, prompted by his simple yet profound faith that a just God rules the universe. In one brief couplet he proclaimed the far-reaching principle which ever guided him (Is. $7^{9c, d}$):

> If you will not hold fast,
> Verily you shall not stand fast.

The Rule or Kingdom of God. Isaiah, the statesman, was apparently the first of the Hebrew prophets to set forth clearly the idea of the kingdom or rule of God. It is the underlying thought in his initial vision. Jehovah is pictured there, not as the divine Lover as in Hosea, but as the majestic King, ruling supreme in earth and heaven, who demands the loyalty of a holy and righteous people. This conception of Jehovah's majesty and of his righteous rule was the basis of all of Isaiah's political and social teachings. In the crisis of 734 B.C., when Ahaz and the people of Judah were trembling at the prospect of an immediate attack by the Northern Israelites and the Arameans, Isaiah declared that these foes would be quickly overthrown, for they were insolently bidding defiance to the divine King. With all the power of his eloquence Isaiah urged the people of Judah not to dread these northern foes and their conspiracy to compel the little kingdom to unite with them in defying Assyria. Rather he declared (Is. 8^{12}):

> Call ye not conspiracy all that this people calleth conspiracy.
> What they fear do not fear nor be filled with dread.

As long as the leaders of Judah were loyal to the demands of Jehovah, Isaiah felt certain that the state was invincible. The one thing that made him shudder and predict its desolation was that they were disloyal to their divine King (Is. $8^{13, 14}$):

> Jehovah of hosts, him regard as the conspirator!
> Let him be your fear and your dread!
> For he will be a stumbling block and a stone to strike against,
> And a rock of stumbling to both the houses of Israel,
> A trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

The same exalted conception of Jehovah's rule was clearly the basis of Isaiah's bold predictions of the overthrow of the mighty Assyrians. In the eyes of the prophet they were simply the rod of Jehovah's anger, the staff by which he manifested his just indignation against his guilty people (Is. 10^{6}):

Against an impious nation am I wont to send him,
And against the people of my wrath I give him a charge.
To take spoil and gather booty,
And to tread them down like the mire in the streets.

When, however, Assyria became arrogant and declared "by the strength of my hand I have done it," its doom was sealed. In Isaiah's teaching Jehovah is the concrete embodiment of the immutable moral laws which, if disregarded by nations or individuals, in the end work out inexorably to the undoing or ruin of the transgressor.

The majority of Isaiah's social teachings are presented in negative form. He was the master of powerful invective, and he wielded this weapon most effectively. His positive teachings regarding the kingdom or rule of God may, to a great extent, be inferred from his denunciations. It is evident that, unlike Amos and his later contemporary Micah, Isaiah did not look for the complete destruction of the Hebrew commonwealth. Rather he hoped that a perfect social order might evolve out of the imperfect society. It was to this end that he unsparingly laid bare his nation's faults. He laboured to develop a state in which the rulers would be just, faithful, and self-sacrificing, the judges absolutely impartial, the rich and ruling classes ever considerate of the interests of the dependent. He dreamed of a state in which all the natural resources would be administered as a common trust; of a nation in which all the citizens would be absolutely upright and devotedly loyal to their divine King. These ideals are gathered up by later disciples of Isaiah and expressed in positive form in such passages as Isaiah 9^{1-7}, 11, and 32^{1-8}. Once or twice Isaiah himself definitely voiced them. Thus, in his impassioned address to the rulers of Judah, after the Assyrian invasion of 701 had left the land desolate, he urges (Is. $1^{16c, 17}$):

Cease to do evil; learn to do good;
Seek justice; relieve the oppressed;
Vindicate the orphan; plead for the widow.

Tenderly he continues his exhortation. The destiny of the nation depends entirely upon whether it is obedient to the demands of the divine King (Is. 1^{18-20}):

'Come now, let us agree together,' saith Jehovah;
'Though your sins be as scarlet, they may become white as snow;
Though they be red as crimson, they may become as wool;
If ye willingly yield and are obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land,
But if ye refuse and resist, ye shall be devoured by the sword;
For the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it!'

The defiant attitude of these leaders forebodes immediate calamity; but when the dross has been burned away in the furnace he clearly sees in imagination the ideal kingdom which Jehovah will establish (Is. 1^{26}):

I will again make thy rulers as at the first and thy counsellors as at the beginning;
Afterward thou shalt be called, 'Citadel of Righteousness, Faithful City.'

Isaiah's Contributions to Israel's Social Ideals. Isaiah did not analyse the psychological causes and the correctives of the social evils of his day as profoundly as did Hosea. His conception of the ideal state was influenced to a certain extent by his conservative and aristocratic training. And yet Isaiah was the first to set forth certain fundamental and far-reaching social principles. He first branded as a crime the selfish monopoly of natural resources. He also was the first to point out the injustice and peril of class legislation (Is. $10^{1,2}$). He it was who inaugurated the first temperance crusade recorded in human history. Moreover, he based his arguments on the same social and economic grounds that are giving ever added impetus and strength to that modern world movement. Above all, Isaiah traced in bold outline that ideal of a kingdom or rule of God which was destined to become a central factor in the social evolution of the human race.

VII

MICAH THE TRIBUNE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

Micah's Origin and Point of View. Micah, like Amos, came from the country. His home was at Moresheth, one of the little hamlets on the outskirts of the old Philistine town of Gath. It lay, therefore, in the rocky, rolling foot-hills that separated the Philistine plain from the uplands of Judah. This region had apparently been colonised by Jews during the strong reign of Uzziah, when the borders of Judah had been pushed westward. It was the part of southern Palestine most exposed to the attacks of the Assyrian armies, for they always approached Judah from the coast plains that skirted the eastern Mediterranean. Apparently, the immediate occasion of Micah's prophecy was the approach of the army of Sennacherib, which in 701 B.C. swept up through the western valleys of Judah, laying waste forty-six of its towns and villages and looting even Jerusalem itself. Micah's point of view is that of a countryman appalled by the crimes of the great city, who regards its corrupt life as a deadly menace to the peace and prosperity of the nation. Like Amos, he was a prophet of passion and fire. It is easy to picture him in imagination surrounded by a group of terrified villagers as he heralded the doom that was about to fall upon Judah (Mi. $1^{5, 6, 9}$):

> For the transgression of Jacob is all this,
> And for the sin of the house of Judah.
> What was the transgression of Jacob? Was it not Samaria?
> What is the sin of Judah? Is it not Jerusalem?
> Therefore I have made Samaria a ruin that is tilled,
> And a place where a vineyard is planted;

I have poured down her stones into the valley,
And I have laid bare her foundation.
. . . . . .
For the blow that she has received is incurable,
Indeed, it has come even to Judah!
It extends even to the gate of my people!

In a later passage Micah predicts a similar fate for Jerusalem. In 6^{9-11} he voices his convictions as he observes the social evils that are especially characteristic of civic life:

Hark! Jehovah crieth to the city!
Hear, O tribe and assembly of the city:
'Can I forget the treasures of the house of the wicked,
And the accursed scant measure?
Can I leave her unpunished because of evil balances,
And the bag of false weights,
Whose riches are full of violence,
And her inhabitants speak falsehood,
And their tongue is deceit in their mouth?'

Micah's Teachings Regarding the Duties of Rulers. Like most of the Hebrew prophets, Micah went directly to Jerusalem, the centre of the nation's life. Again we can see in imagination this stern countryman, impelled by the dread news of the Assyrian advance, leaving his country home and going up with grim determination and the absolute conviction of a divine call to make known to the greedy rulers of his nation the woes which they were bringing upon the innocent. He voiced in scathing words, that remind us of the impassioned addresses of certain modern socialists, the bitter cry of the oppressed against their oppressors. Using a figure already employed by Isaiah (Is. $9^{20, 21}$), he calls them merciless cannibals. Instead of protecting they prey on the people intrusted to their charge (Mi. 3^{1-3}):

Hear now, O heads of Jacob,
And ye judges of the house of Israel.
Is it not your duty to know what is the right?
Haters of that which is good and lovers of evil!

They devour the flesh of my people,
And their hide they strip from off them,
And break in pieces and serve up their bones,
As in a pot or as meat in the cooking-pan!

In the same way he arraigned the leaders of the corrupt commercial city because they had perverted justice and to injustice had added hypocrisy and a false trust in Jehovah. He turned upon them with bitter sarcasm (Mi. 3^{9-11}):

Hear this, ye heads of the house of Jacob,
And ye judges of the house of Israel,
Ye who spurn justice,
And make all that is straight crooked,
Who build Zion with acts of bloodshed,
And Jerusalem with crime.

The heads render judgment for a bribe,
And her priests give oracles for a reward,
And her prophets divine for silver;
Yet they lean upon Jehovah and think,
'Jehovah is indeed in our midst,
Evil cannot overtake us.'

For crimes like these he declares (Mi. 3^{12}):

Therefore for your sakes
Zion shall be ploughed as a field,
And Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins,
And the temple mount a wooded height.

The Responsibilities of Wealth. It is evident that in the days of Micah Judah had reached its lowest social degradation. The base example of the rulers had affected all classes. True brotherhood and genuine patriotism had almost vanished even from the hearts of the common people. Selfish, blatant materialism was regnant. Israel's noble social ideals were ignored. Micah has forever dramatised the thoroughly unsocial and criminal type of man who maintains his place in society by keeping just within the law (Mi. $2^{1, 2}$):

Woe to those who devise mischief on their beds,
Which in the light of morning they accomplish, for it is in their power to do it.
They covet fields and seize them, houses and they take them;
So they crush a strong man and his household, a man and his heritage.

Micah evidently contemplated with grim satisfaction the merciless judgment which the approaching conquerors would visit upon these human vultures. He dramatically voices the dirge which would then be sung over them. With keen sarcasm he repeats their indignant protest and describes the type of prophet that would delight the soul of these social degenerates (Mi. $2^{6, 7, 11}$):

'Prophesy not,' they urge; 'of such things one does not prophesy;
The reproaches of him who speaks will not overtake the house of Jacob.
Is Jehovah impatient, or are these his doings?
Are not his words favourable to his people Israel?'
Yea, if a man walking in wine and falsehood were to deceive you [saying],
'I will prophesy to you of wine and strong drink,'
Then he would be the prophet of this people!

The Duties of Those Intrusted with Public Education in Religion and Morals. Micah evidently found in Jerusalem a group of official prophets—smug, sleek, and self-satisfied. Like their forebears in the days of Ahab (*cf.* I Kgs. 22) they seemed to think that their task was simply to salve the consciences of the corrupt rulers and to commend their policies so as to secure their public approval. No lofty social ideals haunted them and disturbed their serene self-complacence. The contrast between them and Micah was the eternal contrast between the mercenary priestling and the true prophet. Micah himself felt the tremendous difference and pictures it in vigorous imagery. This countryman from the plain also had a grim sense of humour, and he uses it to lay bare the baseness of these

men, the betrayers rather than the saviours of the people in the hour of mortal peril (Mi. 3^{5-7}):

> Therefore Jehovah saith to the prophets who lead my people astray,
> Who when they have anything between their teeth declare peace,
> But against one who puts nothing in their mouths, they proclaim a holy war!
> 'Therefore, night shall overtake you so that you shall have no vision,
> And darkness so that there shall be no divination,
> And the sun shall go down on the prophets,
> And the day shall be dark over them.
>
> The seers will be ashamed,
> And the diviners will turn pale,
> All of them shall cover the beard,
> For there is no answer from God.'

The Results of Micah's Social Teaching. Micah is one of the few Hebrew prophets who succeeded in making a definite and immediate impression upon the social life of his nation. We learn this fact from an incidental reference in the twenty-sixth chapter of Jeremiah. That valiant prophet had declared, a century later, that the temple and Jerusalem would, because of Judah's crimes, become desolate without inhabitant. This prediction so infuriated the people that they would have slain him had his friends not interceded (Jer. 26^{16-19}):

> Then the princes and all the people said to the priests and to the prophets, This man is not guilty of a capital offense, for he has spoken to us in the name of Jehovah our God. Thereupon certain of the elders of the land arose and spoke to all the assembly of the people, saying, Micah the Morashtite prophesied in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah; and he spoke to all the people of Judah, saying, 'Thus saith Jehovah of hosts:
>
> "Zion shall be ploughed as a field,
> And Jerusalem shall become heaps of ruins,
> And the temple-mount wooded heights." '

> Did Hezekiah and all Judah indeed put him to death? Did they not fear Jehovah and appease Jehovah, so that Jehovah repented of the evil which he had pronounced against them? But we are on the point of doing great injury to ourselves.

That a reformation was instituted during the reign of Hezekiah is also recorded in II Kings 18^{4-6}. Inasmuch as the author of Kings was chiefly interested in the ceremonial side of Israel's religion, he speaks only of the abolition of the symbols of the ancient Canaanite cults. It is evident, however, from the incidental testimony of Jeremiah 26 and from the nature of Micah's preaching that this reformation struck deeper into the social life of Judah. Micah, indeed, made no reference to ceremonial rites and customs. It was solely because of Judah's social crimes that he declared:

> Zion shall be ploughed as a field.

There is ample reason, therefore, for concluding that under the leadership of Hezekiah, and following the disastrous Assyrian invasion in 701 B.C., a series of drastic social reforms were instituted that for a time at least delivered Judah from the evils against which the prophets of the Assyrian period had strenuously protested. This conclusion is incidentally confirmed by the fact that at the later crisis in 690 B.C., when Sennacherib again threatened Jerusalem, Isaiah declared unhesitatingly that Sennacherib would fall and Judah survive because the one was clearly in the wrong and the other in the right (Is. 37).

It is interesting to analyse the reasons why Micah succeeded in arousing the social conscience of the people of Judah even when Isaiah had failed. It certainly was not because of his originality. In all of his recorded addresses he does little more than echo the principles laid down by Isaiah. The first reason, doubtless, is because he spoke from the point of view of the common people and with a simplicity and vigour and directness that were irresistible. His teachings were also powerfully reinforced by the deadly fear of imminent invasion that gripped

the heart of every man and woman and child in his audiences, and by the firmly fixed popular belief that calamity was the certain evidence of Jehovah's disapproval. Micah was the awakening conscience of the nation. He reaped where others had faithfully sown. With sledge-hammer blows he drove home the social principles proclaimed by earlier prophets. The fact that he reasserted truths already familiar to the people but added to their grim effectiveness.

The Prophetic Definition of Religious Responsibility. The sixth chapter of Micah contains a crowning epitome of the social teachings of the earlier prophets. In four short lines the prophetic definition of religion, that was first presented by Amos and supplemented by Hosea and Isaiah, is set forth in a way well calculated to arrest the attention of all succeeding ages. The scientist Huxley has said of it:

> A perfect ideal of religion! A conception of religion which appears to me as wonderful an inspiration of genius as the art of Phidias or the science of Aristotle!

To-day it appropriately stands inscribed on the statue of Religion in the Congressional Library at Washington.

The historical setting of these immortal lines is apparently the reactionary reign of Manasseh which immediately followed that of Hezekiah. National disaster and apprehension had led the people to ask with intense earnestness (Mi. $6^{6,7}$):

> With what shall I come before Jehovah,
> Bow myself before the God on high?
> Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings,
> With calves a year old?
> Will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams,
> With myriads of streams of oil?
> Shall I give him my first-born for my guilt,
> The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?

The answer which came first to the popular mind in response to this burning question was suggested by the old ceremonial conception of religion. Jehovah was thought of as a super-

human King whose favour could be won by a wealth of material gifts or by the evidence of supreme self-denial on the part of his worshippers. Here the prophet repeats those conventional standards of religious duty which had almost universally obtained throughout the ancient world until the days of Amos. It was the idea of Jehovah and his service which was still held by a majority of the people of Judah. With masterly skill the prophet brings this primitive popular conception of religion into dramatic contrast with the new social ideals which the prophets of the Assyrian period had proclaimed. He declares that religion does not consist in forms nor in creeds but in acts of justice and love towards man and in that receptive, trusting attitude toward God which makes it possible for the individual to live in daily fellowship with him (Mi. 6^8):

> It hath been shown thee, O man, what is good;
> And what Jehovah demandeth of thee:
> Only to do justice and love mercy,
> And to walk humbly with thy God.

Here each of the great social prophets speaks in turn and yet in unison. To do justice is an echo of Amos's fundamental teaching. The Hebrew word (*hĕsĕdh*) translated "mercy" is repeatedly used by Hosea to describe the kinetic love which binds God to man and man to God and his fellow men, and inspires him to express that love in acts of mercy (*cf.* p. 53). It is love in action. The command is not merely to admire but passionately to love love and its social expression. To walk humbly with God is a reflection of Isaiah's characteristic teaching regarding the majesty and holiness of God. Interpreted in modern terms it means whole-hearted, devoted loyalty. Justice and love toward man and devoted loyalty to God—these are the three basal social virtues, and each marvellously reinforces the others. He who, like Micah, synthesises and makes old truths new and vital forces in human history certainly deserves a high place among the immortal teachers of mankind.

VIII

THE SOCIAL REFORMERS OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

The Decadent Seventh Century. The seventh century B.C. in southwestern Asia was a period of decadence and transition. Under two energetic kings, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, the bounds of the Assyrian empire were extended to their farthest limits. Even the proud domain of the Pharaohs was at last gathered into Assyria's net. Judah and the other small states along the eastern Mediterranean had learned through bitter experience the futility of resisting this great world-conqueror. Spoil and tribute from every quarter poured into the Assyrian treasury; but luxury and moral and social corruption were rapidly destroying its strength. The empire depended for its defense upon the hired mercenaries and subject peoples enlisted in its armies. Patriotism and loyalty had practically disappeared. The entire empire was ruled simply for the purpose of satisfying the personal ambitions and greed of the king and the group of rapacious nobles who gathered about him. Assyria, although to outward appearance at the height of its power, was on the verge of that complete collapse which came suddenly in 605 B.C. Like Northern Israel a century before and Rome eleven centuries later, its fall vividly illustrated the great social and moral principles which the Hebrew prophets proclaimed.

Nahum's Condemnation of War Prompted by Greed. The guilt of Assyria and its downfall are the occasion of the powerful prophecy of Nahum. Of the prophet himself nothing is known except what is revealed in the two and a half chapters which have come from his pen. Over the cruel, rapacious empire this prophet of obscure Judah chants a powerful doom-song.

In the collapse of the great empire he saw not only a vindication of Jehovah's just rulership of the world but also the condemnation of the brutal policy which for over two centuries had involved southwestern Asia in almost continuous war. He strips away all the false pretensions of the great world-conqueror and lays bare the elemental passions which throughout the ages have been the chief incentives to war. He declares that the wars waged by Assyria upon the petty nations of southwestern Asia were simply organised murder inspired by the desire to rob and to gratify the bestial appetites (Nah. $2^{11, 12}$):

> Where is the den of the lions,
> The lair of the young lions,
> Where the lion was wont to withdraw,
> The whelps also with none to startle them?
> The lion tore in pieces enough for his whelps,
> And strangled for his mates,
> He filled his caves with prey,
> And his lairs with plunder.

In imagination he beholds Assyria's foes, inspired by the same ravenous desires, battering down the doors and entering this den of robbers. At last the hour of judgment has struck and the prophet urges on these agents of divine wrath (Nah. $2^{9, 10}$):

> Loot the silver, loot the gold;
> For there is no end of the store,
> The wealth of all precious things!
> She is empty and desolate and waste,
> The heart faints, the knees smite together,
> Anguish is in all loins,
> And the faces of all are flushed.

Through all this song of doom there runs as a recurring note the divine condemnation of all war that is prompted by the lust for power and spoil (Nah. 2^{13}):

> Behold I am against thee, is the oracle of Jehovah of hosts,
> And I will burn thy dwellings in smoke;

The sword shall devour thy young lions;
Yea, I will cut off thy prey from the earth,
The voice of thy messengers shall be heard no more.

Nahum was a worthy forerunner of the modern peace movement. In an age when war raged almost unceasingly he protested passionately against it if undertaken for greedy motives. He had in mind Nineveh, the proud capital of Assyria (Nah. $3^{1, 3c, d}$):

Woe to the bloody city,
Full of lies and plunder!
There are corpses without number!
They stumble over the bodies!

War carried on for such motives Nahum declared is a hideous crime which Jehovah will surely and overwhelmingly punish (Nah. $3^{6, 7, 19}$):

I will cast loathsome filth upon thee,
And make thee vile and set thee as a gazing stock.
And all who look upon thee will flee from thee,
And say, 'Nineveh is wasted! Who will bewail her?
Whence shall I seek comfort for thee?'

. . . . . .

There is no healing for thy hurt, thy wound is fatal!
All those who hear the tidings about thee clap their hands over thee,
For upon whom hath thy wickedness not fallen continually?

The Significance of the Reactionary Reign of Manasseh. The seventh century before Christ also witnessed the political and religious decline of Judah. By submitting to Assyria Hezekiah and his son Manasseh preserved the integrity of their nation, but they purchased their deliverance at a terrible cost. Manasseh during his long reign of nearly half a century (686–641) and his son Amon, who reigned until 639 B.C., repudiated the teachings of Isaiah and Micah, and opened wide the doors of Judah to the culture and religion of the Assyrian conqueror. The alluring Assyrio-Babylonian culture inundated

Judah. The one important Palestinian inscription that has come down from this period is written in the Assyrian script. It records the sale of a piece of land in which the contracting parties bear Assyrian as well as Hebrew names. The statement in II Kings 23[5] implies that the Babylonian sun god Shamash and the moon god Sin and other Babylonian astral deities were during this reactionary period worshipped even in the Jewish temple at Jerusalem. The common people were allowed and possibly encouraged to revive the old Canaanite Baal cults (II Kgs. 23[6, 7]). Equally radical and disastrous was the social reaction. The noble ideals of the earlier prophets were trampled underfoot. Having neither the inspiration of a lofty religion nor of the high moral idealism of men like Isaiah, the rich and ruling classes again began to exploit the people and thus to destroy the very foundations of true patriotism and national integrity.

The Reformer Prophet Zephaniah. The eternal law of action and reaction in time asserted itself in Judah. The people themselves began to see the results of their immorality and to grow weary of the intolerable conditions. More important still was the quiet but persistent activity of the spiritual disciples of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. According to the testimony of II Kings 21[16]:

> Manasseh shed much innocent blood until he had filled Jerusalem from one end to the other.

Undoubtedly the chief victims of Manasseh's reactionary spirit were the followers of the true prophets. For half a century their voice was silenced in public; but the event indicates that they worked privately and ceaselessly to re-establish the principles of the great social prophets as the ruling forces in the life of Judah. At first they depended chiefly upon educational methods. Upon the young Josiah they appear to have bestowed their chief attention. Their influence is the only explanation of why the son of a reactionary father and grandfather became the leader in a great religious and social reformation.

Unquestionably chief among the men who moulded the character of the young Josiah, who came to the throne in 639 at the age of eight, was Zephaniah. According to the superscription which stands at the beginning of his prophecy, he was the great-great-grandson of Hezekiah and therefore a cousin of the king. From his brief prophecy it is clear that he was intimately acquainted with conditions in Jerusalem and the court. He was also a man of clear convictions and of tremendous force of character. Like a tempest his fiery eloquence swept aside all opposition. He was the Savonarola of ancient Jerusalem and, like the later prophet of Florence, exerted a powerful influence upon both king and people. His description of the day of Jehovah, which in its Latin translation is known as the great mediæval hymn, "Dies Iræ," is one of the most powerful passages in human literature. Much of his fiery, uncompromising zeal is reflected in the radical reformation that was later carried through by the young Josiah.

Jeremiah of Anathoth. Closely associated with Zephaniah was his young contemporary Jeremiah. Jeremiah was a native of the little town of Anathoth, a northern suburb of Jerusalem. He was apparently a descendant of the priestly house of Eli, which had been banished from Jerusalem by Solomon. Naturally shy and shrinking, Jeremiah had the persistency and devotion that have given us the world's greatest martyrs. For fully half a century he was, as he declares, "a brazen wall against the kings of Judah, its princes and its common people." During most of this period they fought against him but did not overcome him, for, as he tells us, Jehovah was ever with him to deliver him. In the opening years of Josiah's reign Jeremiah joined with Zephaniah in the attempt to arouse the conscience of the people. The first six chapters of his prophecy contain extracts from the addresses which he then delivered. The event which apparently prepared the way for the public activity of each of these prophets was the approach, about the year 626 B.C., of a horde of Scythian invaders. One of the impressions which convinced Jeremiah that he must assume the rôle of a prophet was the vision of a

caldron, brewing hot and facing from the north, which symbolised the fact that "from the north disaster is brewing for the inhabitants of the land." In a later address he gives a vivid description of this dread, mysterious, nomadic horde of ruthless barbarians who, like their modern descendants, the Cossacks, carried terror wherever they went (Jer. $6^{22, 23}$):

> Thus saith Jehovah: 'Behold a people is coming from the north land,
> And a great nation is arousing itself from the uttermost parts of the earth.
> They lay hold on bow and spear; they are cruel and merciless;
> Their din is like the roaring of the sea, and they ride upon horses.
> Each is arrayed as a man for battle against thee, O daughter of Zion.'

The prophet then goes on to describe the effect of their approach upon the people (Jer. 6^{24}):

> We have heard the report of it; our hands become feeble;
> Anguish takes hold of us, pangs of a woman in travail.

With true psychological insight the prophets recognised that the moment at last had arrived when they could effectively appeal to the nation. What the situation demanded was not the setting forth of a new truth but the bold reassertion of the great moral and social principles laid down by the earlier prophets. The work of Zephaniah and Jeremiah is primarily significant because under their teaching these principles were not only accepted by the people but also expressed in definite laws which remain as one of Israel's great abiding contributions to the ethical and social idealism of the human race (*cf.* chap. IX).

Their Teachings Regarding the Duties of Rulers and Religious Leaders. Although of royal rank and a citizen of Jerusalem, Zephaniah joined in an unsparing attack upon the guilty rulers of Judah (Zeph. $3^{3, 4}$):

Her rulers in her midst are roaring lions,
Her judges are evening wolves, who leave nothing over until the morning,
Her prophets are braggarts, faithless men,
Her priests profane what is holy and do violence to the law.

Their guilt was all the more heinous because they knew very clearly what was their responsibility and the disastrous consequences of disregarding the eternal social and moral principles which govern the life of a nation (Zeph. 3^{5-7}):

Jehovah is righteous in her midst, he doeth no wrong,
Morning by morning he establishes his decree,
Light is not lacking, an oversight is unknown.
I have cut off nations, their turrets are destroyed;
I have laid waste their broad streets, so that none passes over them.
Desolate are their cities without a man, without inhabitant.
I said, 'Surely she will fear me, she will accept instruction,
Nothing shall vanish from her eyes that I have impressed upon her';
But the more zealously have they made all their deeds corrupt.

Jeremiah likewise declared that the hands of Judah's rulers were stained with the blood of the innocent and that they were even more guilty than common housebreakers (Jer. 2^{34}). Like Diogenes of old, he sought in vain through the streets of Jerusalem to find a man "who does right and seeks after the truth." Equally fruitless was his quest when he turned to the royal court (Jer. $5^{4, 5}$):

Then I thought, 'Surely these are the common people, they are without understanding,
For they know not the way of Jehovah, and the law of their God.
Therefore I will go to the nobles and speak to them,
For they know the way of Jehovah and the law of their God.'
But these have all broken the yoke and burst the bonds.

In a later passage, in which Jeremiah contrasts King Josiah and his selfish and reactionary son Jehoiakim, the prophet has

given a remarkably concrete picture of an ideal ruler. The prophecy is addressed directly to Jehoiakim, who, although the ruler of an impoverished nation facing imminent invasion, continued to exploit his people in order to gratify his personal passion for display and luxury (Jer. 22^{13-19}):

> Woe to him who buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by injustice;
> Who causeth his neighbour to labour without wages, and giveth him not his pay;
> Who saith, 'I will build me a vast palace with spacious chambers;
> Provided with deep-cut windows, ceiled with cedar and painted with vermilion.'
> Dost thou call thyself king because thou excellest in cedar?
> Thy father—did he not eat and drink and execute law and justice?
> He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well.
> 'Was not this to know me?' saith Jehovah.
> 'But thine eyes and heart are bent only on thy dishonest gain,
> And on the shedding of innocent blood and on oppression and violence!'
>
> Therefore thus saith Jehovah concerning Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, king of Judah:
> 'They shall not lament over him, "O my brother" or "O my sister"!
> They shall not wail for him, "O Lord" or "O his glory"!
> He shall be buried as an ass is buried, drawn out and cast forth.'

Even more scathing is Jeremiah's condemnation of Judah's faithless religious teachers (Jer. $5^{30, 31}$):

> Frightful and horrible things have taken place in the land:
> The prophets prophesy falsely,
> The priests teach according to their direction,
> And my people love to have it so!
> What will ye do at the end?

Not only have Judah's professional priests and prophets neglected their task as the social conscience of their nation, but they have also lulled the people into a feeling of false se-

curity. Jeremiah's dramatic setting forth of this truth has made a deep impression upon human literature and thought (Jer. 6^{14}):

> They have healed the hurt of my people as though it was slight,
> Saying, 'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace!
> . . . . . .
> They are not at all ashamed, nor do they know enough to blush!

The Irresponsible, Unprincipled Rich. Zephaniah and Jeremiah are equally bold in attacking the economic evils of their day. One of the chief reasons why Zephaniah predicted that the day of Jehovah was "near and rapidly approaching" was because of (Zeph. $1^{12b, c}$)

> The wealthy who are thickened upon their lees,
> Who are saying to themselves, 'Jehovah brings neither prosperity nor calamity!'

He declared that (Zeph. $1^{13, 18a}$)

> Their wealth shall become a prey and their houses a desolation.
> Neither shall their silver nor their gold be able to deliver them!

By the pregnant figure, drawn from the well-known characteristic of old wine, he described the natural conservatism of wealth. The peril of the rich is that they become inert and strive to maintain the existing order, even though it is radically wrong, until they have lost the very capacity of action. In the hour of calamity wealth is no protection against the invader. Instead it simply tends to give to those who possess it a false sense of security which blinds them to their real danger.

Jeremiah has given an equally keen analysis of the effects of wealth unjustly obtained (Jer. 5^{26-28}):

> Wicked men are found, who set snares and catch men with traps so that their houses are full of the fruits of their crooked dealing, even as a cage is full of birds. Thus they become great

and rich, they who have grown fat. They plan wicked things and succeed; they violate justice. The cause of the fatherless and the rights of the needy they do not defend.

This description fits the same type to-day as well as in the decadent seventh century before Christ. The principle, which underlies Jeremiah's grim warning, is also equally applicable (Jer. 5^{29}):

'Shall I not punish such as these?' is Jehovah's oracle,
'Or on such a nation as this shall I not be avenged?'

On a later occasion, when in the presence of foreign invaders the rich landlords of Judah had solemnly agreed to set free their slaves and then shamelessly broken their covenant, Jeremiah unsparingly denounced the ruling classes and thereby declared himself the open foe of slavery and the active champion of individual liberty (Jer. 34).

The Aims of the Prophetic Reformers Who Prepared the Laws in Deuteronomy. We have a threefold record of the great reformation which culminated in 621 B.C. One is the testimony of the prophecies of Zephaniah and Jeremiah; another is the twenty-third chapter of II Kings, which describes the measures adopted by the reformers; the third is in the book of Deuteronomy itself, which contains the laws which were then promulgated. The character of these laws reveals the aim of those who formulated them. Their primary purpose was to correct the evils which had crept into Judah during the reign of Manasseh and to render their reappearance forever impossible. With this end in view the formal religious life of the nation was transferred from the old Canaanite local shrines and centred entirely in Jerusalem. At the same time the reformers aimed to apply the ethical and social principles set forth by earlier prophets to the daily life of the people. In their essence the laws of Deuteronomy are prophetic rather than priestly. It is probable that the men who wrote them were prophets, although priests like Hilkiah, the head of the temple priesthood, who was in hearty sympathy with the pro-

phetic party, may also have had a voice in formulating them. Most of these laws are moulded by Hosea's great doctrine of love to God and man. It was a catholic love which went out also to dumb beasts (Dt. 5^{14}, 25^{4}) and to foreigners resident in Israel, who hitherto had few rights under the Hebrew law. The method of these prophetic lawgivers was in most cases evolutionary rather than revolutionary. Ordinarily they aimed to modify or supplement rather than set aside existing laws and institutions. The result is that the laws of Deuteronomy are a vivid, concrete record of the developing idealism of the Hebrew race down to the close of the seventh century B.C. It is not the work of any one man, but is the embodiment of the idealism of a nation that had learned many important lessons in the painful school of experience and at last was responsive to the teachings of its noblest social and religious teachers. In this code all that is finest in Israel's early religion is blended.

Formal Adoption of the New Prophetic Code. The twenty-second and twenty-third chapters of II Kings contain a graphic account of the way in which the prophetic code, now embodied in the book of Deuteronomy, was made the law of the realm. This momentous step was not easy. Evidently the prophetic tradition that Moses was the author of all of Israel's laws was already beginning to crystallise. A new code, therefore, that had been written by private individuals, even though it included many of the older laws of the race and represented the natural development of the principles earlier laid down by Moses, was in great danger of being regarded with suspicion. This danger probably led its authors to place it in the temple, possibly in the keeping of the friendly high priest Hilkiah, until a favourable moment came in which to present it to the king and people. That opportunity arose when King Josiah, after ruling seventeen years, began to make certain repairs on the temple. Then the prophetic code was brought forth by Hilkiah and placed in the hands of Shaphan, Josiah's private secretary. After reading it the king was greatly stirred, and sent it to a certain prophetess Huldah, who was

attached to the court, to have its validity attested. Huldah was evidently in full sympathy with its enactment, for she at once confirmed its authority. This confirmation encouraged Josiah to act. The graphic account of the way in which this code was made binding upon the people of Judah and promulgated as a law is found in II Kings 23^{1-3}:

> And the king sent and they gathered to him all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem. And the king went up to the temple of Jehovah, and with him all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, as well as the priests and the prophets and all the people, both small and great. And he read in their hearing all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the temple of Jehovah. And the king stood by the pillar and made a covenant before Jehovah to establish the words of this covenant that were written in this book. And all the people confirmed the covenant.

Acting in accord with the commands of this code, Josiah at once proceeded to institute a rigorous reform. The priests and the paraphernalia of the Canaanite and Babylonian cults were banished from Jerusalem. The heathen shrines outside the capital city were destroyed and defiled (II Kgs. 23^{6-15}). The enactments of the new code were enforced in the temple, in the court, and in the daily life of the people. Judah entered upon a new social and religious era that made the brief reign of Josiah seem like a brilliant autumnal day, all the more glorious in contrast with the wintry years of exile which quickly followed.

IX

THE SOCIAL PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE PROPHETIC CODE OF DEUTERONOMY

Domestic Relations: Duties of Husbands to Their Wives. The prophets who formulated the laws of Deuteronomy were ardent champions of the defenseless. At the same time they were practical reformers, and therefore did not attempt the impossible. When existing institutions were not absolutely harmful they accepted them. Evil customs they sought to ameliorate by modifying rather than by condemning them. It was because they adopted this mediating method that their laws quickly gained popular acceptance. Thus they made no protest against the old Semitic custom which permitted the victor to marry a woman captured in war, but they commanded that every consideration should be shown for her feelings (Dt. 21^{10-14}). She was to be allowed to put off the garb of captivity and to lament for her father and mother a month undisturbed. Then she was to be given the full rights of wifehood. Her husband could never again sell her into slavery. They also enacted that whoever brought a false charge of infidelity against his wife should pay a heavy fine to her father and should never be allowed to divorce her (Dt. 22^{19}). While they were not able to abolish the Semitic custom which made divorce easy, they did all in their power to make it more difficult for a husband to put away his wife at will. They provided that he must give her a written statement of the grounds for such action and should never be allowed to remarry her (Dt. 24^{1-4}). Most men would hesitate long before they committed themselves to a statement which the parents of their rejected wife could and in most cases would compel them to prove before a public tribunal. The irrevocable nature of that act would

also deter them from yielding to a passing impulse. In this earliest of marriage laws the aim, therefore, is not to countenance but to put barriers in the way of divorce.

Duties of Parents to Children. Equally progressive is the Deuteronomic legislation that aims to define the duties of parents to their children. The ancient lawgivers have anticipated the fundamental principle underlying the modern religious-education movement. Upon the parents they throw the responsibility of teaching their children the essential principles of religion and morals and of utilising to that end every opportunity presented by their daily life together. These lawgivers also appreciated the large pedagogical value of a question asked by the one to be taught (Dt. $6^{6-9, 20-25}$):

> These words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart; and thou shalt impress them upon thy children, and thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. Thou shalt bind them as a reminder on thy hand, and have them as bands on thy forehead between thine eyes, and thou shalt mark them on the posts of thy house and on thy doors.
>
> When thy son asketh thee in the future, 'What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which Jehovah our God hath commanded you?' then shalt thou say to thy son, 'We were Pharaoh's slaves in Egypt; but Jehovah brought us out of Egypt with a strong hand; and Jehovah performed before our eyes great and destructive signs and wonders, upon Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his household; and he brought us out from there, that he might bring us in to give us the land which he swore to our fathers. And Jehovah commanded us to act in accord with all these statutes, to fear Jehovah our God, that we might always prosper, and that he might preserve us alive, as at this day. We shall be righteous if we observe faithfully this command before Jehovah our God, as he hath commanded us.'

Duties of Children to Parents. The Deuteronomic lawgivers were strenuously insistent that children in turn honour and obey their parents, for they recognised that this attitude was essential to a stable social order and to the development

of efficient social citizens. They appealed first to the self-interest of the children themselves (Dt. 5^{16}):

> Honour thy father and thy mother, as Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee; that thy days may be long, and that it may go well with thee in the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee.

They fortified this appeal by an educated public opinion, for in the formal liturgy, which aimed to impress upon the national consciousness the major crimes that must be avoided if the common good was to be conserved, they instructed the officiating Levites to say (Dt. 27^{16}):

> Cursed be he who dishonours his father or his mother. And all the people shall say, 'So may it be.'

Finally, they decreed that dishonouring and disobeying parents was so grievous a crime that organised society itself should by the most strenuous methods stamp out this menace to its welfare and integrity. There is every reason to believe that parental love always prevented, as the lawgivers anticipated it would, the execution of this grim law, and that its practical value was to emphasise dramatically a vital principle (Dt. $21^{18\text{-}21}$):

> If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, who will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and, though they chastise him, will not give heed to them, his father and his mother shall take hold of him, and bring him before the elders of his city, and to the gate of the place where he lives, and they shall say to the elders of his city, 'This our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice; he is a spendthrift and a drunkard.' Then all the men of his city shall stone him to death; thus thou shalt put away the evil from thy midst, and all Israel shall hear and fear.

Duties of Masters to Slaves. Though obsolete, the Deuteronomic laws regarding slaves are still richly suggestive in this modern industrial age, for the underlying principles are still applicable. In contrast to the old Babylonian and Roman

lawgivers, the interest of the authors of the Deuteronomic codes is entirely with the slave. The code of Hammurabi imposed a most severe penalty upon the man who harboured a runaway slave. The Deuteronomic lawgivers, however, with a bold disregard for existing customs and vested interests, decreed (Dt. $23^{15, 16}$):

> Thou shalt not deliver to his master a slave who has fled from his master to thee. He shall dwell with thee in thy land, in the place which he shall choose within one of thy towns, where it pleases him best, without thy oppressing him.

They also provided that the slaves should share equally with the children of the household in the annual festivities which were celebrated at Jerusalem (Dt. $12^{17, 18}$, 16^{11}). To the primitive law of Exodus 21^{2}, which enacted that all Hebrew slaves should be freed after six years of service, they added the provision that they be generously supplied with the necessities of life so that they would not be again reduced through poverty to the condition of servitude (Dt. $15^{13\text{-}15}$):

> When thou lettest him go free, thou shalt not let him go empty-handed; rather thou shalt furnish him liberally from thy flock, and thy threshing-floor, and thy winepress; according as Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt give to him. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and that Jehovah thy God redeemed thee; therefore I now command thee to do this thing.

It is important to note that the generous giving that is urged is not charity which pauperises the recipient, but a just recompense for services rendered. The social principle here operative is not that of force and might, but of justice and brotherhood and love. As elaborated by the later prophets and Jesus, this is the only principle that will solve the problem of domestic service that looms so large in many modern homes.

Political and Civil Regulations: Obligations of Rulers. The democratic principles for which Ahijah and Elijah contended are definitely incorporated in the Deuteronomic codes.

The entire intent of this legislation is in favour of the common citizen. The king is the free choice of the people (Dt. $17^{14, 15}$). He is enjoined to be content with a modest revenue and court and not to amass private wealth (Dt. $17^{16, 17}$). Above all, he must rule humbly and faithfully in accord with the democratic principles laid down in Deuteronomy 17^{18-20}:

> And when he sitteth upon his kingly throne he shall write for himself in a book a copy of this law which is in the charge of the Levitical priests; and he shall have it always with him, and he shall read in it daily as long as he lives, that he may learn to fear Jehovah his God, to take heed to observe all the words of this law and these statutes, that his heart be not lifted up above his kinsmen, and that he turn aside from this command neither to the right nor to the left, in order that he and his descendants may continue long to rule in the midst of Israel.

Duties of Judges. The rules for the guidance of judges are eternally applicable. Here the principles for which Amos and Hosea and Isaiah valiantly fought are writ into Judah's national code (Dt. 1^{17}):

> Ye shall be impartial in judgment. Ye shall give equal hearing to the weak and strong. Ye shall not be afraid of any man, for the judgment is God's.

The prophetic lawgivers were exceedingly strenuous in their condemnation of bribery, and their position is doubly significant because its background is the Semitic world in which nearly every private and public transaction was accompanied by a gift (Dt. $16^{19b, 20}$):

> Thou shalt not take a bribe, for a bribe blindeth the eyes of the wise and perverteth the words of the righteous. Justice and only justice shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live and inherit the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

They also placed bribery in the list of the twelve deadly social crimes that were to be denounced publicly by priests and people (Dt. 27^{25}).

Duties of Witnesses. The laws defining the responsibilities of witnesses in the public courts reveal an exceedingly high sense of justice. Their primary aim is to defend the accused against unjust charges. The testimony of at least two witnesses is required to convict a man of any crime (Dt. 19^{15}, 17^{6}). As in the code of Hammurabi, a false witness is punished by the same penalty that he sought to bring upon the accused. Here the *lex talionis* is especially fitting. It is an open question whether or not our modern usage is more just than the ancient law (Dt. 19^{16-21}):

> If a malicious witness stand up against a man to accuse him of treason, then both the men who have the dispute shall stand before Jehovah, before the priests and the judges who shall be officiating in those days; and the judges shall thoroughly investigate; and should it prove that the witness is a false witness, and hath testified falsely against his countryman, then shall ye do to him as he purposed to do to his fellow countryman; thus thou shalt purge away the evil from thy midst, that those who remain may heed and fear, and never again commit any such crime in thy midst. And thou shalt not show pity; life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.

Public Education in Religion and Morals. The practical prophetic spirit and aim of the authors of the Deuteronomic codes is further revealed by the emphasis which they placed upon public education. They provided that the laws of the land should be made easily accessible to every citizen. To this end they directed that they should be inscribed on plastered stones set up in a central place (Dt. $27^{1-4, 8}$). Also they directed that at fixed times the law should be publicly read to the people (Dt. 31^{10-13}):

> And Moses gave them this command: 'At the end of seven years, in the year fixed for the release, at the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel come to see the face of Jehovah your God in the place which he shall choose, you shall read this law aloud before all Israel. Assemble the people, the men, the women, and the children, as well as the aliens who reside within your city, that they

> may hear, and learn, and fear Jehovah your God, and faithfully follow all the words of this law, and that their children who have not known may hear, and learn to fear Jehovah your God as long as ye live in the land which ye are going over the Jordan to possess.'

Economic Regulations: The Ownership of Property. The Deuteronomic lawgivers were keenly alive to the fact that social welfare to a great extent depends upon economic conditions. A large number of their laws, therefore, aim to eliminate existing economic evils. They believed in the private ownership of property, and protected it by the laws against stealing (Dt. 5^{19}) and against moving the landmarks or boundary-stones (Dt. 19^{14}). This treacherous form of theft was placed in the list of the most reprehensible social crimes (Dt. 27^{17}).

At the same time the Deuteronomic lawgivers recognised that each man had a certain common right in the natural products of the soil. The way in which they maintained the balance between private and public rights is exceedingly interesting (Dt. $23^{24, 25}$):

> When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard thou mayest eat of grapes to thy fill at thine own pleasure, but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel. When thou comest into thy neighbour's standing grain, thou mayest gather the heads with thy hand, but thou shalt not put a sickle to thy neighbour's standing grain.

They also taught in concrete terms the principle that each man is under obligation to respect society's rights in the common natural sources of wealth and not to destroy the source of supply (Dt. $22^{6, 7}$):

> If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way, in any tree or on the ground, with young ones or eggs, and with the mother sitting upon the young or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the mother with the young. Thou shalt surely let the mother go, but the young thou mayest take for thyself, that it may be well with thee and that thou mayest live long.

Responsibilities of Employers of Labour. The oldest labour legislation known to history is found in the code of

Hammurabi (about 2000 B.C.). That paternal despot sought by law to fix the wages of different classes of labourers. The first laws, however, that aim to protect the rights of the manual labourer are found in the Deuteronomic codes. They assert the principles that all subsequent labour legislation has simply sought to apply equitably and specifically. The first law limits not the hours but the days of labour and seeks to insure needed rest even to slaves. Here we have the true prophetic interpretation of the significance of the Sabbath: it is not a ceremonial but a social institution (Dt. 5^{13-15}):

> Six days thou shalt labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is a sabbath to Jehovah thy God; in it thou shalt do no work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy male or female slave, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor the alien who resideth within thy city, that thy male and female slave may rest as well as thou. Thou shalt also remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt and that Jehovah thy God brought thee out from there by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm; therefore Jehovah thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day.

The Deuteronomic lawgivers laid upon employers the solemn obligation not to exploit their employees. They also strongly emphasised the importance of the prompt payment of wages. They suggested no penalty for failure to observe these laws, but they appealed on the one side to the feeling of human brotherhood and on the other to self-interest and the fear of divine judgment (Dt. $24^{14, 15}$):

> Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant who is poor and needy, whether he be of thy own race, or of the resident aliens who are in thy land within thy city. On the same day thou shalt pay him his wages before the sun goeth down, for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it; and let him not cry against thee to Jehovah, and thou be guilty of a crime.

Measures for the Prevention of Poverty. The prophetic authors of Deuteronomy thoroughly believed that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." They were also

well aware of the evils of poverty. One of their chief endeavours was to prevent poverty by removing its causes. Many of the fundamental methods which they suggest are practically applicable in all stages of civilisation. Certain of the gravest economic evils of the present age have been due to our failure to appreciate the principles laid down by these early but enlightened social investigators and reformers. Several of the laws already considered were formulated in order to prevent poverty. By securing justice in the public courts for poor and rich, for the weak and strong alike, they eliminated one of the fertile causes of poverty in both the ancient and modern world. By preventing the exploiting of the manual-labouring class by their employers they were striking at what still remains one of the leading reasons why, in this age of plenty, millions of human beings live on the verge of poverty or belong to the submerged class. The same economic aims underlie the laws which forbade rulers to amass private wealth or to adopt policies that would tend to pauperise their subjects. The humane regulations regarding the taking of pledges belong to the same class. Each was intended to guard against inflicting unnecessary hardship on the unfortunate and also to prevent those who were trembling on the brink of poverty from being pushed over the abyss (Dt. $24^{6, 10-13}$):

> No man shall take the mill or the upper millstone as a pledge, for thereby he taketh a man's life as a pledge. When thou lendest thy neighbour any kind of loan, thou shalt not go into his house to take a pledge from him. Thou shalt stand without, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge to thee. In the case of a poor man, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge; thou shalt surely restore to him the pledge at sunset, that he may sleep in his garment, and bless thee; thus thou wilt be counted righteous before Jehovah thy God.

The desire to eliminate poverty explains the seemingly impracticable enactment (Dt. $23^{19, 20}$):

> Thou shalt not lend on interest to thy fellow countryman,—interest on money, on food, or on anything that is lent on inter-

> est . . . that Jehovah may bless thee in all that thou undertakest to do.

In Judah in the seventh century before Christ loans were rarely, if ever, made in order to launch commercial enterprises. Instead, they were made to the man who had suffered some misfortune in order to save him or his children from slavery, which was the penalty for unpaid debt. The rate of interest in the ancient East was usually exorbitant. Hence, if insisted upon it hastened the economic ruin of the debtor. In many cases, however, a loan without interest tided the unfortunate through his period of stress and at the same time preserved his self-respect without pauperising him, as a direct gift might have done.

In their zeal to right economic inequalities the lawgivers went farther and declared (Dt. 15^{1-3}):

> At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release. And this is the nature of the release: every creditor shall remit that which he hath lent to his neighbour; he shall not exact it of his neighbour or fellow countryman, because Jehovah's release hath been proclaimed. Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it; but whatever of thine is with thy fellow countryman, let thy hand release it.

Here the law of brotherhood is pressed to its fullest extreme. A modern critic would call this law socialistic. The lawgivers themselves feared that it might defeat its own end. They therefore made a powerful appeal to the sympathies and racial loyalty of their countrymen (Dt. 15^{7-11}):

> If there be with thee a poor man, one of thy fellow countrymen, in any of thy cities in thy land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not be hardhearted, nor shut thy hand from thy poor brother; but thou shalt surely open thy hand to him, and shalt lend him sufficient for his need as he wanteth. Beware lest this base thought come in thy heart, 'The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand,' and thou turn a deaf ear to thy poor brother, and thou give him nothing, and he cry to Jehovah against thee, and thou be guilty of a crime. Thou shalt surely give to him, and

> thy heart shall not be sad when thou givest to him, because for this Jehovah thy God will bless thee in all thy work, and in all that thou undertakest to do. For the poor will never cease to be in the land; therefore I command thee, 'Thou shalt surely open thy hand to thy brother, to thy needy, and to thy poor in thy land.'

The older law of Exodus $23^{10, 11}$ provided that on the seventh year all the land should lie fallow and every Hebrew should be allowed to gather whatever it produced:

> Six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in its increase. The seventh year thou shalt let the land rest and lie fallow, that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave the wild beasts shall eat. In like manner thou shalt do with thy vineyard and thine oliveyard.

Here the right of every man to share in the natural resources of the earth is boldly asserted. Not as a gift nor as the result of another's labour, but as the fruit of his own efforts the man is given an opportunity to recoup his fortunes. The detailed plan is not practicable in our modern highly developed civilisation. It is not certain that it was ever rigidly carried out in Judah. The thirty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah indicates that the law of the seventh year of release was disregarded in the days immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem. But the underlying principle, radical though it is, is well worthy of consideration when ninety per cent of a nation's vast wealth is hoarded in the hands of approximately one-fortieth of its population, while millions are herded together under living conditions that are morally and physically destructive of both character and life.

The same strenuous endeavour to prevent poverty and to give every man an opportunity to preserve his self-respect and to win a livelihood by his own labour underlies the law regarding the gleanings (Dt. 24^{19-22}):

> When thou reapest thy harvest in thy field, and hast forgotten a sheaf in thy field, thou shalt not go again to bring it; it shall be for the resident alien, for the fatherless, and for the widow, that Jehovah thy God may bless thee in all the work of thy hands.

> When thou beatest thy olive-tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again; it shall be for the resident alien, for the fatherless, and for the widow. When thou gatherest the grapes of thy vineyard, thou shalt not glean it after thee; it shall be for the resident alien, for the fatherless, and the widow. Thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt; therefore I command thee to do this thing.

In their active campaign against poverty the Deuteronomic lawgivers did not stop with external measures. They sagely advised their fellow countrymen to avoid all loans which would put them under the power of foreigners (Dt. 15^{6b}):

> Thou shalt lend to many nations but thou shalt not borrow.

They encouraged honesty and industry and the fundamental moral virtues which are essential to the material prosperity of the individual and of the state. With superb optimism and conviction they declared that if the people proved loyal to these laws and ideals, poverty should indeed be banished from the land (Dt. $15^{4, 5}$):

> Nevertheless there shall be no poor with thee, for Jehovah will surely bless thee in the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee to possess as an inheritance, if only thou diligently hearken to the voice of Jehovah thy God, to observe to do all these commands which I command thee this day.

Measures for the Alleviation of Poverty. The Deuteronomic lawgivers nowhere encourage indiscriminate giving. Their silence is significant. Their whole emphasis was on constructive rather than merely remedial charity. They set their ideal that "there shall be no poor with thee" in the forefront. The one measure which provided for direct giving was carefully guarded so that it could not be abused nor pauperise those whom it sought to benefit. One-thirtieth of every man's income was turned over to the local authorities of his village or city and was stored up to be used by them to supply the pressing needs of those who had no regular income (Dt. $14^{28, 29}$, 26^{13}):

> At the end of every three years thou shalt bring out all the tithe of thine increase in that year and shalt deposit it within thy city. That the Levite, because he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee, and the resident alien, and the fatherless, and the widow, who are in thy city, may come and eat and be satisfied, in order that Jehovah thy God may bless thee in all the work to which thou puttest thy hand. And thou shalt say before Jehovah thy God, 'I have put away the consecrated things out of my house, and have also given them to the Levite, and to the resident alien, to the fatherless and to the widow, just as thou hast commanded me; I have not transgressed any of thy commands, neither have I forgotten them.'

The Characteristics of the Social Citizen. In the decalogue of Deuteronomy 5^{14-21} and in the public liturgy of Deuteronomy 27^{17-24} every son of Israel is solemnly warned against committing the supremely unsocial crimes of murder, adultery, incest, theft, and bearing false testimony. A fine social idealism underlies the grim curses of Deuteronomy $27^{18, 19}$:

> Cursed be the one who maketh the blind wander out of the way. And all the people shall say, 'So may it be.' Cursed be the one who perverteth the justice due the resident alien, fatherless, and widow. And all the people shall say, 'So may it be.'

The truly social citizen is not only generous but considerate of the feelings of his neighbour (Dt. $24^{10, 11}$). Moreover, he is ever on the alert to guard against anything that will endanger the life of his fellow men (Dt. 22^{8}):

> When thou buildest a new house, thou shalt make a parapet for thy roof that thou bring not blood upon thy house, in case any man should fall from it.

This law sets forth clearly and concisely the principle which in its modern application has found expression in the building, sanitary, and factory legislation that is one of the most hopeful indications of progress in our present civilisation.

According to the Deuteronomic lawgivers, love is the crowning characteristic of the social citizen. Although a later lawgiver (Lev. 19^{18b}) first formulated the command,

> Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,

the prophets who wrote Deuteronomy faithfully applied this principle. The author of Leviticus 19^{18b} had simply in mind his fellow Israelites. The Deuteronomic lawgivers went even farther, for they laid down the noble command (Dt. 10^{19}):

> Love the resident alien.

They also recognised that love to man would be but a flickering flame if it was not inspired by a dominating love and loyalty toward God. Hence they repeatedly proclaimed that this love was the crowning characteristic of a social citizen (Dt. 6^{5}, *cf.* 11^{1}):

> Thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might.

Love meant service, and to serve God was, in the thought of these experienced prophets, to make the principles of social justice and service which they had endeavoured to formulate the guide in every thought and act (Dt. 10^{12}):

> And now Israel, what doth Jehovah thy God require of thee but to fear Jehovah thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him and to serve Jehovah thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul?

The Completeness of the Deuteronomic Social Code. Antiquity produced no other code of laws which in its completeness and lofty social idealism compares with that found in the book of Deuteronomy. Its underlying principles contribute to the solution of almost every problem of human society. Most of these principles are of far wider application than the specific cases with which they deal. They remain to-day the historic

foundations of that which is finest in our modern social legislation. Many of the standards that they set up still await complete acceptance. No one can claim that they present a perfect social system. Jesus rejected their toleration of divorce (Mk. 10^{3-5}). Their teaching regarding war (Dt. 20) strikes a much lower level than do the standards maintained by Amos (Am. 1) and Nahum (Nah. 2, 3). The explanation is found in their hot zeal to stamp out the earlier Canaanite cults that had been perpetuated by the remnants of the older population of Palestine and during the reign of Manasseh had gained the ascendancy even in Judah. The bitterness begotten by cruel persecution had hardened the otherwise tender hearts of these Deuteronomic lawgivers, so that, in theory at least, they could countenance the wholesale slaughter of those whom they regarded as traitors to their race and religion. Humanity had to wait long centuries before the great Teacher of Nazareth uttered the revolutionary command: "Love your enemies." At many points, however, the Deuteronomic codes anticipate the social teachings of Jesus. They mark a long advance toward the completion of that perfect social plan which was the culmination of more than twelve centuries of intense struggle and rich national experience.

PART II

THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF THE EXILIC AND POST-EXILIC PROPHETS AND SAGES

X

ISRAEL'S MATURE POLITICAL IDEALS

Israel's New Outlook on Life. The final destruction of Jerusalem and the temple in 586 B.C. inaugurated a new era in Israel's life and thought. The insistent social problems which had gathered about the pre-exilic Hebrew state had largely disappeared. The survivors of the Jewish race were widely scattered. The majority of the peasants and villagers still remained in Palestine, but they were disorganised and poverty-stricken, ground down by their foreign rulers, and the prey of their hostile neighbours. Some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem who had escaped the great catastrophe of 597 and 586 B.C. were settled as colonists in the heart of Babylonia, whither they had been carried captives by Nebuchadrezzar. Others had fled in great numbers to Egypt and were to be found living together in colonies in great cities such as Memphis and Elephantine. Not until the Maccabean era, late in the second century before Christ, did the Jews again enjoy an independent national life. The result was that they either lived largely in the past, proud of its glories and at the same time meditating on its lessons, or else in the future, toward which they looked with hopes and aspirations that were ever kept alive by the faith and teachings of their prophets. It was during this period that out of the wreckage of the old Hebrew state the individual emerged and personal religion developed.

The exile also vastly broadened Israel's horizon. It brought squarely before the attention of the scattered exiles the question of what should be their relation and what were their responsibilities to the heathen world that engulfed them. Meditation on the past experience of their nation and their unquenchable hopes for the future led certain of their prophets to set

forth in positive and concrete terms the social and political principle which must govern the rulers of any age or nation if they are to build up a state which will endure. The social teachings of the post-exilic prophets and sages, therefore, represent the mature ideals of their race.

The Social Significance of the Messianic Prophecies. The so-called messianic prophecies of the Old Testament present many difficult problems to the biblical student. A careful study, however, makes it clear that the only way in which to understand and rightly estimate these glowing prophecies is to interpret them in the light of their original historical setting. Studied in this light, the majority of them prove to be not specific predictions but ideals concretely expressed. The complete realisation of any noble ideal necessarily lies in the future. The majority of the messianic prophecies are in reality social hopes set forth in the dramatic form of prayers or predictions. In one important respect they represent a distinct advance over the teachings of the pre-exilic prophets, for the ideals are put in positive rather than in negative form and are largely divested of their local associations.

Thus interpreted, the Old Testament messianic prophecies are profoundly significant. They represent the highest aspirations not only of the Hebrew race but of the most enlightened citizens of the ancient world. They stand as goals to be attained. They are also vivid assurances that all the forces of the universe work with those who strive to realise the divine purpose in the life of mankind. They are akin to the noble aspirations which were the inspiration of many ancient peoples. Thus, for example, there comes from the days of the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty (c. 1800 B.C.) the prediction of a certain native prophet, Ipuwer, who, after proclaiming that a great disaster impends, in which the existing political and social organisation will be overthrown, declares:

> A saviour will restore the land. He shall bring cooling to the flame. Men shall say, 'He is the shepherd of all the people; there is no evil in his heart.' If his flocks go astray, he will spend the day in search for them. The thought of men shall be aflame.

Would that he might achieve their rescue. Verily he will smite evil when he raises his arm against it. . . . Where is his day? Does he sleep among you?

Examples of this type of prophecy come from every period of Egyptian history down to the Christian era. Vergil's prediction of the golden age about to dawn (in his twelfth eclogue) is familiar to every classical student.

A Prayer in Behalf of a Benign Ruler. In Psalm 72 the teachings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and the kingly ideal of Deuteronomy 17^{14-20} are set to music and in the form of a prayer put on the lips of the people. The benign reign of Josiah was evidently in the mind of the poet. In exquisite, poetic language it voices the eternal cry of the masses as they look to their rulers for justice and succour. It is a hymn in which the ancient Chinese social reformer Confucius would have heartily joined. This hymn embodies Israel's unique political ideal of the kingship. It served better than occasional prophecies or even laws to keep this practical democratic ideal before both ruler and people. As it was chanted in the Jewish temple, rich and poor, rulers and ruled, united in voicing the great social principles that it sets forth in exquisite literary form:

Grant the king thy justice, O Jehovah,
And thy righteousness to the king's son.
May he judge thy people in righteousness,
And thine afflicted ones with justice.
May the mountains bear peace to the people,
And the hills bring forth righteousness.
May he vindicate the afflicted among the people,
May he help the sons of the needy.
May he fear thee while the sun endureth,
As long as the moon shineth, even forever.
May he descend like rain upon the mown grass,
Like rain-drops that water the earth.
May righteousness flourish in his days,
And abundant peace until the moon be no more.
For he delivereth the needy who cry,

> And the afflicted who have no helper.
> He hath pity on the poor and needy,
> And saveth the life of the poor.
> He saveth them from extortion and violence,
> And their life blood is precious in his sight,
> So they may live and give him of Sheba's gold,
> And pray for him continually,
> And bless him all the day long.

The Portrait of the Prince of Peace. Ezekiel was apparently the father of the hope that Jehovah would again unite the survivors of Northern and Southern Israel, restore them to Palestine, and set over them a scion of the house of David (Ezek. $34^{23, 24}$; *cf.* $37^{24, 25}$):

> And I will set up over them one shepherd, my servant David. And he shall feed them and be their shepherd. I, Jehovah, will be their God and my servant David shall be prince over them. I, Jehovah, have spoken.

Out of the gloom of exile comes another prediction, more poetic, more mysterious, and more exalted. Its background is the unspeakable woe wrought by war and conquest. It is a picture of the perfect and lasting peace to be inaugurated, not through a divine miracle, but through the activity of a ruler whose character and policy are the direct antithesis of those of Ahaz and Jehoiakim. The Hebrews appreciated the importance of concise, vivid characterisation. The names which they gave to their kings and even to God described the important traits and the character of each. Apparently, each new Hebrew king on his accession assumed a royal name. Thus, for example, Jedidiah, David's son, after mounting the throne was known as Solomon, a name derived from the Hebrew word for peace. So, also, when Josiah's son Shallum mounted the throne he assumed the title Jehoahaz. His brother Eliakim, after his election as king, was known as Jehoiakim. In accordance with this custom the unknown prophet who penned the immortal poem in Isaiah 9^{2-7} gives to

the young prince who is to bring peace and prosperity to the race a fourfold name.

Each of these names is richly significant. "A wonder of a counsellor" describes his insight, his tact, and his marvellous skill in directing the policy of the state over which he is to rule. "A god of a hero" suggests the deeds of prowess of the knights of old who followed David during his outlaw period and helped him to build an empire. This title implies, however, that this hero is to achieve far more than the knights of old who merely wielded the sword: he is to be divinely gifted and therefore invincible. The word "father" is apparently used much as we in America employ it to-day in describing our first President as a man who by his devotion and loyal self-sacrifice guarded and nurtured the young republic. The double title "Father of Eternity" implies that his fatherly care is not to be for the moment and intermittent but unceasing. The term "Prince of Peace" is the culmination of these titles. In its derivation and use the Hebrew word translated *peace* is far richer than our English equivalent. It is derived from the word meaning *to be whole, complete,* and therefore *to be harmonious.* It is from the same root as the Hebrew word used in ordinary greetings, which conveyed the idea not only of peace but of perfect well-being and prosperity. "Prince of Peace," therefore, described a ruler who by his wise counsel, his Godlike prowess, and his unceasing care and vigilance in behalf of his subjects would bring harmony and well-being to all members of his nation. The prophet believed that this ruler was to sit on a Hebrew throne and restore to Israel the territory once held by the great King David. It was not by might, however, but by justice and righteousness and by the help of Jehovah that he was to prevail and to establish a permanent rule.

It matters little whether the prophet had in mind the young Zerubbabel, who during the exile was born to the house of David and was later appointed by the Persians as governor of the Palestinian Jewish community, or some ruler to be born in the distant future. The abiding significance of this passage re-

mains the same: it is a proclamation of an era of peace and a noble expression of Israel's highest political ideals:

Thou multipliest the exultation, thou makest great the rejoicing,
They rejoice before thee as men rejoice at harvest time,
As men are wont to exult when they divide spoil.

For the burdensome yoke and the crossbar on his shoulder,
The rod of his taskmaster, thou breakest as in the day of Midian.
For every boot of the warrior with noisy tread,
And every war-cloak drenched in the blood of the slain
Will be completely burned up as fuel for the flame.

For to us a child is born, to us a son is given,
And dominion shall rest upon his shoulder;
And his name shall be Wonderful Counsellor,
Godlike Hero, Ever-watchful Father, Prince of Peace.
To the increase of his rule and to peace there shall be no end,
On the throne of David and throughout his kingdom,
To establish and uphold it by justice and righteousness henceforth and forever.
The zeal of Jehovah will accomplish this.

The Ideal Ruler. Isaiah 11^{1-10} contains a portrait of an ideal ruler that is closely parallel to the one just considered. Either the two passages come from the same writer or else the author of 11^{1-10} is deliberately developing the outlines suggested by 9^{2-7}. The historical background of both is evidently the Babylonian exile. The stock of Jesse, which represents the ruling house of Judah, has been levelled to the ground so that only a stump remains. From this stump, however, a shoot is to spring forth. This scion of the house of David is to be divinely gifted and to show himself a wonderful counsellor.

A sprout shall spring from the stock of Jesse,
And a shoot from his roots shall bear fruit.
The spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him,
A spirit of wisdom and insight,
A spirit of counsel and might,
A spirit of knowledge and the fear of Jehovah.

In his zeal to administer justice and to judge the cause of the helpless he shall prove an everlasting father of his people.

> He will not judge according to what his eyes see,
> Nor decide according to what his ears hear;
> But with righteousness will he judge the helpless,
> And with equity will he decide for the needy in the land.

His might and prowess as a divine hero will be shown not in ruthless foreign conquests but in denouncing all oppressors and in bringing the guilty to judgment. His weapon will not be a gory sword but his word of truth and justice. As he goes forth like a knight to deliver the oppressed he will be strengthened by the consciousness that his cause is right and his motive sincere. The poet has here suggested the figure which Paul has so powerfully developed in Ephesians 6^{10-17}:

> He will smite an oppressor with the rod of his mouth,
> And with the breath of his lips will he slay the guilty.
> Righteousness will be the girdle about his loins,
> And faithfulness the band about his waist.

With exuberant poetic imagery the prophet describes the reign of the Prince of Peace. Even the ravenous wild beasts are represented as being so influenced by his benign rule that they lose their natural instincts and live together in blissful harmony:

> Then the wolf will be the guest of the lamb,
> And the leopard will lie down with the kid;
> The calf and the young lion will graze together,
> And a little child will be their leader.
> The cow and the bear will become friends,
> Their young ones will lie down together,
> And the lion will eat straw like the ox;
> The suckling will play about the hole of the asp,
> And the weaned child will stretch out his hand toward the viper's nest.

The supreme achievement of his beneficent reign is that men will cease to prey upon their fellow men and all will be in-

spired by that intimate knowledge of Jehovah which hitherto had been Israel's peculiar possession. This descendant of the house of David shall attract to his standards many peoples. They shall come, not compelled by his victorious sword, but voluntarily seeking the peace and security which his wise and just rule insures:

Men shall not harm nor destroy
In all my holy mountain;
For the earth shall have been filled with knowledge of Jehovah
As the waters cover the sea.
And it shall come to pass in that day,
That the root of Jesse who is to stand as a signal to the peoples—
To him shall the nations resort,
And his resting-place shall be glorious.

The Ideal State of the Future. Only a citizen of the democratic house of Israel, with a prophet's faith in the future of society, could have painted the picture of the ideal state in Isaiah 32^{1-5}. Unlike the authors of the preceding passages, he apparently had no specific ruler in mind, but is simply portraying the type of ruler who will bring health and healing to society. He still thinks of rulers as kings and princes, but he breathes the spirit of true democracy. What a man is and does is, in his mind, the sole claim to nobility. Terms and forms of government may change, but the principle of true democracy is the same throughout the ages. The ideal which is here set forth is eternal:

Behold, a king shall reign righteously,
And princes rule justly.
Each shall be like a hiding-place from the wind,
Like a covert from the driving storm,
Like water courses in a parched place,
Like the shade of a great rock in a weary land.

The eyes of those who see shall not be closed,
And the ears of those who hear shall hearken.
The mind of the rash shall discern with judgment,

The tongues of stammerers shall speak quickly and distinctly;
No more shall the fool be called noble,
Nor the knave be spoken of as princely.

Psalm 101 contains one of the latest and noblest social utterances of the Old Testament. It is apparently the oath of office or vow which Simon, the Maccabean ruler, took when he became, by virtue of popular election, the governor, military commander, and high priest of the Jewish people. He it was of whom the author of I Maccabees 14^{14} declares:

He strengthened all the distressed of his people,
He was full of zeal for the law,
And every lawless and wicked person he banished.

The same author declares that he was chosen to be the leader of the people because of "the justice and faith which he showed to his nation, and because he sought by all means to exalt his people."

The principles which this marvellous poem voices might well be incorporated in the oath of office of any modern ruler. It is doubly significant because the man who probably uttered it was one of the two or three rulers who, out of Israel's long history, realised in character and in policy the lofty yet practical ideals which he thus dramatically sets forth in the pulsating, emotional, five-beat measure of Hebrew poetry. Here the ardent social reformer is himself the ruler vested with full authority:

Of mercy and justice will I sing to thee, O Jehovah,
I will behave myself wisely and blamelessly. O when wilt thou come to me?
I will walk in uprightness of mind in the midst of my house,
I will set before mine eyes nothing that is base.
I hate an act of apostasy; it shall not cleave to me.
A perverse purpose I will banish from me; I will know no evil.
Whoever secretly slanders his neighbour, him will I cut off;
Whoever has a high look and a proud heart, him will I not tolerate.

Mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may
dwell with me;
He who walks in an upright manner, that one shall serve me.
He who practises deceit shall not dwell within my house;
He who speaks falsehood shall not be established before mine
eyes.
Zealously will I destroy all the wicked of the land,
That I may cut off from the city of Jehovah all who do evil.

XI

THE GROWTH OF ISRAEL'S MISSIONARY ATTITUDE TOWARD ALL NATIONS

Influences That Enlarged Israel's Social Consciousness. The development of a missionary attitude toward the heathen world is one of the most remarkable achievements in Israel's remarkable history. From their nomadic ancestors the Hebrews inherited an attitude of suspicion and hostility toward all outside their racial group. The bitter experiences of the centuries that immediately followed the destruction of the temple were well calculated to intensify these feelings; and yet the marvel is that, as Israel's tragic history unfolds, the missionary note becomes clearer and stronger. It represents the superb flowering of the fine old Semitic institution of hospitality. A race which treasured among its most sacred inheritances the memory of Abraham's princely reception of the chance strangers could not remain forever insensible to its obligations to the hated heathen. Even before the exile the unknown author of the prophetic sections of the table of the nations in Genesis 10 taught in concrete terms that the human race was one great family and that all nations were bound together by the bonds of blood kinship (*cf.* p. 34). With deeper insight Amos, the shepherd of Tekoa, declared as early as the middle of the eighth century before Christ that Jehovah not only ruled over but also cared for the heathen Arameans and Philistines even as he did for Israel.

Unquestionably, the wide scattering of the Jewish exiles and refugees after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. was one of the great factors in enlarging their social consciousness. In Babylonia and Egypt they learned through personal contact

to appreciate the worth and piety even of the hated heathen. They also perceived clearly their spiritual and moral needs. Thoughtful Jews could not fail to see, even in the hour of their national degradation and woe, that their prophets had taught them truths and principles that were of universal application. As their belief that Jehovah was the one supreme God in all the universe developed, a new sense of responsibility came to them. When the old Hebrew states had fallen in ruin and there was little prospect of material glory for their nation, their racial pride and aspiration also led them to consider the possibilities of moral and spiritual conquests. Above all, their expanding ideals led them to dream of a social order which would include not merely the members of their scattered race but the entire family of nations. Hence, of all the teachers of humanity, Israel's prophets first conceived the idea of a state which would comprise all the races of mankind, and of a loyalty to a common God so broad and all-embracing that it would bring together into one great brotherhood every people and nation. As they contemplated this universal social order, they at last fully appreciated the important rôle which Israel must play in establishing this world-wide kingdom of God.

The Recognition of the Rights of Resident Aliens. The first step toward a recognition of the rights of foreign peoples was the opening of the door to aliens who sought refuge and a home in the land of Israel. Originally these had no legal status in the Hebrew commonwealth. The primitive code of Exodus 22^{21} warned the Hebrews against doing them any wrong. The codes of Deuteronomy, however, by the end of the seventh century before Christ, assured full justice and equality to all resident aliens. They were also invited to come and share all the religious privileges of the native-born Israelites (Dt. $16^{11, 12}$, 26^{11}). Above all, the law in Deuteronomy 10^{19} commanded the Hebrews to love the resident alien. In the Holiness Code of Leviticus 24^{22} is found the comprehensive enactment:

> Ye shall have the same laws for the resident alien as for the native born.

The priestly law of Numbers 15[14, 15] also imposes upon the resident aliens the same obligations to keep Israel's ceremonial laws as rested upon the native-born Jews:

> If an alien reside among you, or if any one else be among you throughout your generation and wish to present an offering made by fire of an odour pleasing to Jehovah, as ye do, so shall he do. There shall be but one statute for the assembly, both for you and for the alien who resideth among you. A statute forever throughout your generation; ye and the resident alien shall both be alike before Jehovah.

This law probably comes from the fourth century before Christ, when at last Judaism stood with open door ready to receive within its ranks all foreigners who were willing to conform to its civil and ceremonial laws.

The influences that had brought about this remarkable change of attitude were many and varied. The traditions of the old Semitic law of hospitality, which even in earliest times made the foreign guest, for a brief time at least, a member of the tribe which received him, were doubtless strengthened by the need which the Hebrews in hotly contested Palestine always felt for increased population. The chief influence, however, was their growing ethical and social consciousness. The fact often urged in the code of Deuteronomy, that they had once been resident aliens in the land of Egypt, undoubtedly was a constant and powerful force leading them to treat the aliens in their midst with justice and consideration and to extend to them the full privileges of the community. This considerate attitude toward aliens within their ranks in turn modified their attitude toward those outside. The humiliating, heartbreaking experiences that came to them during the four centuries following the destruction of the temple also broke down their national pride and awakened their sympathies.

The Open Door to the Heathen World. In the years immediately after the Babylonian exile the attitude of the Jews of Palestine toward foreigners was more liberal than that of the Jews of the dispersion. When Nehemiah in 444 B.C. re-

turned to Jerusalem from distant Susa he felt compelled to close the open door not only to the heathen but also to the Samaritan kinsmen of the Jews (Neh. 2^{20}, 13^{28}). But the prophet Zechariah, who in 520 B.C. co-operated with Haggai in inspiring the Jewish community to rebuild the temple, voices the more tolerant attitude of the Palestinian Jews. In the hour of Jerusalem's humiliation he confidently proclaimed that it would yet be, what it has at least historically become, the Mecca of many races. His bold declaration was prompted by his unbounded faith in Jehovah's love for his people and in the superiority of their religion (Zech. 8^{20-23}):

> Thus saith Jehovah of hosts: 'Peoples and the inhabitants of many cities shall come, and the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, "Let us go speedily to entreat the favour of Jehovah, and to seek Jehovah of hosts; I will go also."' Yea, many peoples and strong nations shall come to seek Jehovah of hosts in Jerusalem, and to entreat the favour of Jehovah. Thus saith Jehovah of hosts: 'In those days ten men shall take hold out of all the languages of the nations, they shall take hold of the skirt of him who is a Jew, saying, "We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you."'

From the middle or the latter part of the Persian period comes a noble reassertion of Zechariah's broad platform. The unknown prophet who uttered it recognised that he was going contrary to the strong tide of public opinion, for he declares (Is. 56^{3}):

> Let not the foreigner who has joined himself to Jehovah say:
> 'Surely Jehovah will separate me from his people.'

Boldly the prophet declares in the name of Jehovah (Is. 56^{6-8}):

> The foreigners who join themselves to Jehovah to minister to him,
> And to love the name of Jehovah, to be his servants,
> Every one who keeps the sabbath so as not to pollute it and faithfully abides by my covenant,

Them will I bring to my holy mountain and make joyful in my house of prayer;
Their burnt-offerings and sacrifices will be accepted upon my altar;
For my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples,
It is the oracle of Jehovah, who gathereth the outcasts of Israel,
'I will gather still others to him in addition to those already gathered.'

Zechariah's epoch-making teaching is gloriously expanded in the exquisite picture of universal peace and loyalty to Israel's God that is found both in Micah 4^{1-4} and Isaiah 2^{1-4}:

It shall come to pass in the latter days
That the mountain of Jehovah will be established,
Even the house of our God on the top of the mountains;
And it shall be lifted above the hills.
All the nations shall flow to it,
And many peoples shall go and say,
'Come, let us go up to Jehovah's mount,
To the house of the God of Jacob,
That he may instruct us in his ways,
And that we may walk in his paths.
For from Zion proceeds instruction,
And Jehovah's word from Jerusalem.'

He will arbitrate between many peoples,
And render decisions for strong nations;
They shall beat their swords into ploughshares,
And their spears into pruning hooks;
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
Neither shall they learn war any more.
They shall dwell each under his vine,
And under his fig-tree, with none to terrify them;
For the mouth of Jehovah of hosts hath spoken.

Not under compulsion but voluntarily the nations of the earth are represented as coming to pay homage to Jehovah and to learn how they may walk in his ways. It is one of the most brilliant Old Testament descriptions of the kingdom of God. True to Israel's educational ideals, Jehovah is pictured as the great Teacher, instructing the peoples that come stream-

ing up to Jerusalem. When nations submit their disputes to the divine tribunal, peace, wide-spread and lasting, is the inevitable result. The poet has here pictured a social condition which has held the enraptured gaze of every prophetic soul throughout the succeeding ages.

Israel's Mission to the Heathen. The inspired teachings found in Isaiah 40 to 66 broadened still further Israel's social consciousness and led it far toward the Christian conception of a united human family bound together simply by loyalty to a common Father:

> For his teaching the coast-lands are waiting.

The noble-minded Jews in the Ghettos of Egypt and Babylonia and in impoverished, war-swept Palestine were those whom the prophet hoped would bear the teachings and law of Jehovah to all nations and to all lands. He saw on the distant horizon of the future the day when the rule of God would be forever and universally established in the minds of men (Is. $51^{4, 5}$):

> Hearken to me, O my people,
> And give ear to me, O my nation:
> For from me teachings shall go forth,
> And my law suddenly as a light to the people.
> My triumph is near, my salvation shall go forth,
> Mine arm shall rule the peoples,
> For me the coast-lands wait.

The Universality of Jehovah's Rule. The most unequivocal statement of the universality of Jehovah's rule is found in the appendix to the nineteenth chapter of Isaiah. The reference in the nineteenth verse, "to the day when there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt, speaking the language of Canaan and swearing allegiance to Jehovah," indicates that this appendix was added at least after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. The tolerance and breadth which this passage reveals strongly suggest that it comes from an era not

earlier than the Persian period. It anticipates the day when the heathen nations would not merely come to worship Jehovah at Jerusalem, but when in their own land Egypt and Assyria, which in the earlier days had stood respectively for the friendly and hostile heathen world, would unite to worship Israel's God. The language in which this comprehensive missionary ideal is expressed lies on the border-line between poetry and prose. There are abundant suggestions of that balanced parallelism which was the fundamental characteristic of Hebrew poetry. And yet as the passage reads in the Hebrew it must be classified as prose, not poetry (Is. $19^{21, 23-25}$):

> Jehovah will make himself known to Egypt, and the Egyptians will know Jehovah in that day and will worship with sacrifice and oblation and will vow vows to Jehovah and perform them. In that day there shall be a highway from Egypt to Assyria; and Assyria will come to Egypt and Egypt to Assyria, and the Egyptians will worship with the Assyrians. In that day Israel will form a third part with Egypt and Assyria—a blessing in the midst of the earth, which Jehovah hath blessed, saying: 'Blessed be my people, Egypt and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel, mine inheritance.'

If the prophet lived in the Greek period, Assyria represented in his mind its lineal descendant, the Syrian kingdom, which was already beginning to struggle with Egypt for the supremacy of Palestine. The marvel is that the prophet was able to mount on the wings of faith above the din of war and hostile conflict and to picture the day when Israel would join with her hereditary foes in the devoted worship of their common God. Here at last the Old Testament missionary ideal has completely conquered all race prejudices and has become universal.

The Psalmists' Vision of the Kingdom of God. The psalmists caught up this conception of Jehovah's universal rule and set it to music and taught the Jewish people to sing it. It is the dominant idea in Psalms 96 to 100. In Psalm 96^{1-3} the poet cries out in ecstasy:

Oh sing to Jehovah a new song;
Sing to Jehovah, all the earth.
Sing to Jehovah, bless his name,
Proclaim the good news of his salvation from day to day.
Declare his glory among the nations,
His marvellous deeds among all the peoples.

He summons all nations to join the Jews in the great procession of the worshippers, whom in imagination he sees come sweeping into the temple, chanting Jehovah's praises (Ps. 96^{7-10}):

Ascribe to Jehovah, ye families of the peoples,
Ascribe to Jehovah glory and strength,
Ascribe to Jehovah the glory due his name;
Bring an offering, and come into his courts;
Oh worship the Lord Jehovah in holy array,
Dance before him, all the earth.
Say among the nations, 'Jehovah reigneth;
He it is who will judge the peoples with equity.'

These songs proclaim that Jehovah's rule or kingdom means happiness for all mankind, for it is founded on the eternal principles of justice (Ps. $97^{1, 2}$):

Jehovah reigneth; let the earth rejoice,
Let the many coast-lands be glad.
Clouds and darkness are about him,
Righteousness is the foundation of his throne.

The prophetic and the missionary note are nobly blended in the appendix to the pathetic twenty-second psalm (Ps. 22^{27-30}):

All the ends of the earth will remember and will turn to Jehovah,
And all the families of the nations will worship in his presence;
For the dominion belongs to Jehovah and he rules over the nations.
Verily, him alone will all the prosperous of the earth worship.
Before him all those about to go down to the dust will bow.
A seed will serve him, it will be told to a generation to come;
And they will declare his righteousness that he hath accomplished
to a people yet to be born.

These exalted hymns of praise and adoration are as far removed from the grim prophecies and imprecatory psalms that proclaim the universal destruction of the heathen as the east is from the west.

Israel's Realisation of Its Missionary Ideal. The unknown prophet who sometime in the Greek period wrote down the graphic story of Jonah was keenly alive to the glaring inconsistencies in later Judaism. Being a skilled literary artist, he chose to caricature them and to make them so ridiculous that even the Jews themselves would laugh at them. To accomplish his purpose he, like Jesus, employed the short story. The hero of this ancient Oriental tale was not lacking in courage and zeal, but he was hopelessly narrow-minded and intolerant. A few noble Jews of the dispersion were guided by the missionary ideals of the earlier prophets and did valiant work; but Jonah represents the many who, during the fourth and third centuries before Christ, like the author of the book of Esther, contemplated with exultation the wholesale slaughter of the heathen. He was even ready to defy Jehovah and risk his own life that his nation's foes, the guilty Ninevites, might be utterly destroyed. In contrast to the heathen sailors, who did all in their power to save this ill-starred Jew, he was a sorry figure. Later he bitterly complained to Jehovah, not only because the sun was allowed to beat down upon his unworthy head, but chiefly because the common Father of mankind had listened to the prayers of the repentant Ninevites (Jonah 4^{1-5}):

> But it displeased Jonah greatly, and he was angry. And he prayed to Jehovah, and said, 'Ah now, Jehovah, was not this what I said when I was yet in mine own country? Therefore I hastened to flee to Tarshish; for I knew that thou art a God gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and abounding in love, and relenting of evil. Therefore, O Jehovah, take now, I beseech thee, my life from me; for it is better for me to die than to live!' And Jehovah said, 'Doest thou well to be angry?' Then Jonah went out of the city, and sat down before the city, and there made him a booth, and sat under it, until he might see what would become of the city.

The figure which Jonah presents is as ludicrous as it is pathetic. The normally minded men in every age laugh at it, as the author intended they should. He is both ludicrous and pathetic because he completely lacks the true missionary spirit. A narrow, selfish, racial patriotism has so blinded his eyes that he petulantly finds fault with a God who cares for the great city, heathen though it be,

> in which there are a hundred and twenty thousand human beings who know not their right hand from their left; besides much cattle!

In the ancient story Jonah, the incarnation of misguided, intolerant Judaism, brings out by contrast the true missionary attitude, which is represented by Jehovah himself. It is the same missionary spirit which inspired the later Jewish proselyting movement and fired the early Christians with love for all men and zeal to save even the most despised. It is the same broad missionary ideal that is again taking possession of the minds of the leaders of Christendom. Under its influence they are beginning to recognise that all the world is but one great missionary field. It is gradually kindling a divine love which glows not merely when they seek to satisfy the needs of the distant heathen, but also when they face the crying needs of the great city at their door. It is the natural corrective of the false attitude of the narrow-minded patriots whose misguided zeal threatens to bring dire calamity upon both themselves and society. This missionary spirit, inherited from the great prophets and Jesus, promises to-day to prove the supreme solvent of society's gravest political and social problems.

XII

THE SECOND ISAIAH'S IDEAL OF SOCIAL SERVICE

The Historical Background of the Second Isaiah. The painful and discouraging centuries that followed the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. witnessed the rise of the two greatest poets and interpreters of life that ancient Israel has given to the world. The one is the author of the poem of Job. The other is an unknown prophet, designated to-day as Second Isaiah because his immortal prophecies have been appended to those of the earlier statesman-prophet Isaiah. From this anonymous prophet comes the successive series of poems found in Isaiah 40 to 55. In all probability from the same great soul, but from a later period in his life, come those found in Isaiah 56 to 66. Into these poems he has woven the rich results of his own and his nation's experience. During the years of distress and ignominy, when the Jews were helpless in the hands of their heathen conquerors, the experiences through which they then passed were sufficient to break the spirit and daunt the most courageous. Their faith in Jehovah's justice and love was strained to the point of breaking. Their capital city and temple lay in ruins. Even though in 520 B.C., through the inspiring sermons of Haggai and Zechariah, the ancient sanctuary was restored, disaster and disappointment continued to fall heavily upon the few faithful members of the poor, struggling Jewish community. The great majority of the Jews whose fathers had been carried to Babylon or had sought refuge in Egypt remained in the lands of the exile and contributed little to the revival of their nation's life. It is on this discouraging background that the immortal songs of the Second Isaiah find their natural setting.

The Prophet's Aims. The opening words of his prophecy (Is. 40^{1a}),

> Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith Jehovah,

reveal one of his primary aims. It was to dispel the haunting doubts which beset all thoughtful Jews, to bind up their wounds, and to give to them encouragement and hope (Is. 42^{22}):

> A people spoiled and plundered!
> They are all snared in holes,
> And hidden in prison houses,
> They have become a spoil, with none to rescue,
> An object of plunder, with none to say, 'Restore.'

His second aim was to interpret their past and present history as a people, so that they would appreciate its significance and realise that all that had come to them was but the necessary training for a great, divine service. His third aim was to hold up before them an ideal of service so lofty and yet so practical that they would both lose and find themselves in performing it. He further aimed to show them that the bitter shame and the cruel suffering of the present, instead of being an evidence, as was popularly believed, of divine displeasure, if nobly borne possessed an eternal redemptive power. Finally, he was endeavouring to arouse the latent loyalty of the scattered exiles, and to fill them with such a burning zeal for service that many of them would give up their homes and opportunities for ease and luxury in Babylonia and Egypt and come back to help restore the struggling, poverty-stricken Jewish community, and thus again give Israel a place and a voice among the nations.

The Prophet's Interpretation of Israel's Destiny. Earlier patriots and prophets had held up before their race the promises of material prosperity and glory. They had firmly believed that by virtue of their moral superiority they were destined to conquer and to rule over the less enlightened nations. Through all the years the majority of the people had waited expectantly for the time when Jehovah would re-

deem the promises that had been associated with the name of Abraham and the forefathers of their race. In the terms of the old Balaam oracle they believed that (Num. 24[8])

> God, who brought Israel forth out of Egypt,
> Is for him like the strength of the wild ox.
> He shall devour the nations, his adversaries,
> And shall break their bones in pieces,
> And shatter his oppressors.

A larger vision of Jehovah's character, a more intimate acquaintance with the character and aspirations of the heathen nations, and a developed social consciousness had led the unknown author of Isaiah 40 to 55 to see clearly the utter vanity of these material hopes. In the light of his own and Israel's enlarged experience, he declared that his race was called to suffer and to serve, and through suffering and service to conquer gloriously. Its weapons were not the iron sword, but truth and love and service, which are alone invincible. Hence all the painful, soul-testing experiences through which it was passing were but a part of its training to fit it to perform an immortal service for Jehovah and for mankind. Israel's destiny, therefore, was to be Jehovah's prophet and apostle to the nations; in the performance of this supreme service it was to realise its highest national aspirations.

The Character of the Servant Whom Jehovah Needed to Realise His Purpose. The Second Isaiah appealed to his race as a whole; but he was fully aware that the majority were both deaf and blind to the truths which experience had taught and which he was seeking to interpret (Is. 42[19, 20]):

> Who is blind but my servants,
> And as deaf as their rulers?
> Much have they seen, without observing it.
> Though your ears were open, ye did not hear.

The prophet hoped that his appeal would at least find a response in the minds of the more receptive. Repeatedly he cries out (Is. 51[7]):

Hearken to me, ye who know what is right,
Ye people in whose heart is my teaching.
Fear not the insults of mere men,
Nor be frightened by their revilings!

The prophet saw that he must reach the nation through the mind and conscience of the individual. This fact doubtless explains in part why, in portraying the type of servant that Jehovah required at this critical moment in human history, the portrait is so distinctly individual. Sometimes he identifies the servant with the entire nation (Is. $41^{8,9}$):

And thou, Israel, my servant,
Jacob, whom I have chosen,
Offspring of Abraham, my friend,
Thou whom I brought from the ends of the earth,
And called from its most distant parts,
To whom I said, 'Thou art my servant,'
I have chosen and have not rejected thee.

Ordinarily the servant acts and speaks as an individual. In the four so-called servant passages the prophet endeavours by means of a composite picture to set forth clearly the task, the essential characteristics, and the method of the servant which Jehovah requires to accomplish his divine purpose. The ideal applies equally to the nation as a whole and to the individual. It is by no means clear that the Second Isaiah had in mind an actual person. Undoubtedly the unwearied, self-sacrificing devotion of the prophet Jeremiah to his race was in the background of the prophet's consciousness. In the Judean community there were probably individuals whose experience, like that of the Second Isaiah himself, contributed to the crystallising of his ideal of the perfect servant of Jehovah. The term servant or slave of Jehovah was carefully chosen. Purposely the prophet avoids the earlier term messiah or anointed, for it was associated in the popular mind with the pre-exilic Hebrew kings, who had betrayed their solemn trust and proved faithless servants of Jehovah. The term slave was employed

because it possessed a very different content in the old Hebrew life from that which it has gained in more recent days. As has already been noted, the Hebrew slave was not the mere chattel of his master, but as a rule each was bound to the other by strong affection and loyalty. The slave was absolutely devoted to the interests of his master. His sense of complete dependence only intensified his zeal faithfully to carry out in every detail his master's will. Also in the language of Semitic diplomacy the word slave or servant was the symbol of intelligent, willing, and complete devotion. Vassal kings constantly used it in protesting their loyalty to their overlords.

In a series of concrete pictures the prophet portrays the characteristics of the faithful servant of Jehovah. He is patient, receptive, persistent, and tireless. He is ready to undergo long and painful training, and to make any sacrifice needful to perform for Jehovah and human society the great task intrusted to him. He is supremely heroic, and his heroism is all the more significant because it is the heroism of the commonplace and lacks the inspiration of public approval. He is not a mere passive character, but is fired by righteous indignation in the presence of deliberate wrong, and is capable of energetic action. In Isaiah $50^{8, 9a}$ the prophet dramatically makes the servant declare:

> He is near who justifieth me, who will contend with me? Let us stand up together!
> Who is the adversary to oppose my cause? Let him draw near to me!
> Behold, the Lord Jehovah is my helper; who is he that can harm me?

At the same time the servant is tender and considerate toward the weak. In these marvellous passages the Second Isaiah holds up before the eyes of his countrymen and of the human race the portrait of a prophet, a teacher, a martyr, a saviour of men, and a creator of a new humanity.

The Training of Jehovah's Loyal Servant. In Isaiah $50^{4, 5}$ the servant of Jehovah describes the way in which he was

trained for his task. Into this description the Second Isaiah has undoubtedly put much of his own experience and that of his loyal countrymen in that age which tested men's souls. That Jehovah's servant may teach others he must first become a faithful disciple, eagerly and patiently learning the lessons that his divine Teacher sees fit to teach him:

> The Lord Jehovah hath given me the tongue of a trained disciple.
> To give to the fainting a word of help, he waketh me early,
> Early he waketh me, that I may listen as a disciple.
> The Lord Jehovah hath opened mine ear,
> And I have not been wilful nor turned back rebelliously.

He must also learn to endure unflinchingly insult and unjust persecution, assured that in the end his divine Master will vindicate and reward him, and that the sacrifice is necessary if he is to accomplish the great task intrusted to him (Is. $50^{6, 7}$):

> My back I gave to smiters and my cheek to those who plucked the beard,
> My face I hid not from insult and spitting,
> For my Lord Jehovah is my helper, so that I am not confounded.
> Therefore I have set my face like flint, and I know that I shall not be put to shame.

The prophet's object in thus describing the training of the true servant of Jehovah is revealed in Isaiah 50^{10}. It is that every God-fearing Jew who is passing through the school of affliction might appreciate the true significance of that experience:

> Who among you fears Jehovah? Let him hearken to the voice of his servant.
> Who walks in darkness, having no light?
> Let him trust in the name of Jehovah and rely on his God.

The Task and Methods of Jehovah's Loyal Servant. The prophet endeavours to make exceedingly clear the nature and importance of the task that Jehovah wishes his loyal servant to accomplish. The first great need in the prophet's day

was the restoration of his scattered people to Palestine. It was a worthy task for a faithful follower of Jehovah, and one which Nehemiah in a large measure accomplished. The address in Isaiah 49^{7-9} is a startlingly exact description of the work of that loyal cup-bearer, who, through his devoted and untiring services, restored the desolate heritages and inspired new hope in the minds of his countrymen:

> Thus saith Jehovah,
> The Redeemer of Israel, his Holy One,
> To him who is heartily despised,
> To the one abhorred of the people, a servant of rulers:
> 'Kings shall see and arise,
> Princes and they shall do homage,
> Because of Jehovah who is faithful,
> The Holy One of Israel who hath chosen thee.'
>
> Thus saith Jehovah,
> 'In a time of favour I answer thee,
> And in a day of deliverance I help thee,
> And I make thee a pledge to the people,
> To raise up the [ruined] land,
> To reapportion the desolate heritages,
> Saying to those who are bound, "Go forth,"
> To those in darkness, "Show yourselves!" '

The same noble service is described in Isaiah $42^{6, 7}$, in which Jehovah is represented as addressing his servant:

> I, Jehovah, have called thee in righteousness,
> I have taken thee by the hand and kept thee,
> I have made thee a pledge to the people, a light to the nations,
> To open eyes that are blind,
> To bring captives out from confinement,
> From the prison house dwellers in darkness.

In 61^{1-3} the prophet apparently identifies his work with that of the servant of Jehovah, thereby proclaiming that he felt that, in uttering his message of comfort and inspiration, he was proving himself to be a loyal servant of the Highest:

The spirit of the Lord Jehovah is upon me,
Because Jehovah hath anointed me,
He hath sent me to bring good tidings to the afflicted,
To bind up the broken-hearted,
To proclaim liberty to the captives,
And release to those bound,
To proclaim the year of Jehovah's favour,
And the day of vengeance of our God;
To comfort all who mourn,
To give them a head-dress instead of ashes,
Oil of joy instead of a garment of mourning,
A song of praise instead of a crushed spirit.

With inspired insight the prophet recognises that the work of Jehovah's servant is not restricted to Israel. In $49^{5.\ 6}$ he makes the ideal servant, whom he is depicting before the eyes of his afflicted countrymen, proclaim this fact:

And now, thus saith Jehovah
(He who formed me from birth to be his servant,
To bring Jacob back to him,
And that Israel might be gathered to him;
For I was honoured in the sight of Jehovah,
And my God became my strength):
'It is too little a thing to be my servant,
To raise up the tribes of Jacob,
And to restore the survivors of Israel;
Therefore I will make thee the light of the nations,
That thy salvation may reach to the ends of the earth.'

He is divinely commissioned to teach the nations the truths intrusted to him (Is. 42^{1}):

Behold, my servant whom I uphold,
My chosen, in whom I take delight;
I have put my spirit upon him,
That he may set forth law to the nations.

His methods are not those of the destructive conqueror, but those of a loving, sympathetic teacher (Is. 42^{2-4}):

He will not cry aloud nor roar,
Nor let his voice be heard in the street.
A crushed reed he will not break,
And a dimly burning wick he will not quench.

Faithfully will he set forth law;
He will not lose vigour nor be crushed
Until he establish law in the earth;
And for his teaching the coast-lands are waiting.

His field is world-wide. Although they know it not, even the most distant races of the earth are waiting expectantly for the message of liberty and life which the trained servant of Jehovah is alone able to proclaim.

The Invincible Character of Voluntary Self-Sacrifice. The Second Isaiah threw more light on the baffling problem of the suffering of the righteous than did any poet or philosopher before the Christian era. In the immortal stanzas of Isaiah 52^{13} to 53^{12} he declares that he who would perform the highest service for a sinful world must indeed suffer, but that the self-denial and the voluntary suffering of the righteous in behalf of the ignorant and the fallen are often the only forces that will awaken and save them. These alone are invincible. They alone bring to those who gladly make the sacrifice the gratitude of a saved humanity, which is the highest honour that man can confer. To-day the devoted teacher, the faithful pastor, the intrepid social reformer, and the self-sacrificing settlement worker all bear testimony to these fundamental truths.

In Isaiah 52^{13-15} Jehovah first proclaims the significance of the self-sacrificing work of his servant:

Behold, my servant shall prosper,
He shall be raised up and highly exalted.
Even as many were appalled at him,
So shall many nations tremble;
Kings will close their mouths before him,
When what has not been told them they see,
And what they have not heard they perceive.

Next his contemporaries bear belated testimony to the importance of the servant's work (Is. $53^{1-2b, 3-5}$):

Who believed what has been reported to us,
And to whom was Jehovah's might revealed?
For he grew up before us as a young shoot,
And as a root out of dry ground.
He was despised and forsaken of men,
A man of suffering and acquainted with sickness:
Like one for whom men hide their face,
He was despised so that we esteemed him not.
Surely our sickness he himself bore,
And our sufferings—he carried them,
Yet we ourselves esteemed him stricken,
Smitten of God and afflicted.
But he was wounded for our transgressions,
Crushed because of our iniquities;
The chastisement for our wellbeing was upon him,
And through his stripes healing came to us.

Then the prophet adds his testimony (Is. $53^{10, 11b}$):

Yet Jehovah was pleased to crush him;
Through giving himself as an offering for guilt,
He shall see posterity and length of days,
And the pleasure of Jehovah will be realised in his hands;
Out of his own suffering he shall see light,
He shall be satisfied with his knowledge.

In conclusion Jehovah proclaims his servant conqueror (Is. 53^{11c-12}):

My righteous servant shall make many righteous,
And himself will bear the burden of their iniquities.
Therefore I will give him a portion among the great,
And with the strong shall he divide spoil,
Because he poured out his life-blood,
And was numbered with transgressors,
And himself bore the sins of many,
And interposed for transgressors.

The self-sacrifice of the ideal servant of Jehovah is not an end in itself but only the way in which he attains complete self-realisation and achieves his mission.

The Realisation of the Ideal of the Servant of Jehovah. The Second Isaiah held up an ideal of service so lofty and many-sided that it contains a personal appeal to all men of all nations. The faithful Jews who endured injustice at the hands of their heathen neighbours and rulers, and taunts and insults from the mercenary, apostate leaders of the Judean community, by their endurance and fidelity kept alive the religious life of Judaism, and thereby performed an inestimable service for Jehovah and for humanity. It is probable that the deputation which went from Jerusalem to the distant capital of the Persian Empire bore in their hands a copy of the poems of the Second Isaiah. In the prayer which the young Nehemiah uttered soon after their arrival (Neh. 1^{5-11}) the word servant occurs eight times in seven verses, suggesting that he was inspired by the prophet's clarion call to service. In responding to this call Nehemiah proved not only a restorer of Jerusalem but also a deliverer of those who were either under the bondage of their oppressors or of their own selfish impulses. In his vivid memoirs he tells us of how he found the common people ground down and enslaved by their rapacious rulers. Fired by divine zeal, Nehemiah's mouth indeed proved "like a sharp sword" (Is. 49^{2}). Layman though he was, he rose to the height of a great prophetic reformer. In his memoir he graphically describes his work (Neh. 5^{6-13}):

> Then I was very angry when I heard their complaint and these statements. And I took counsel with myself, and contended with the nobles and rulers, and said to them, 'You exact usury each of his brother.' And I held a great assembly against them. And I said to them, 'We ourselves have, according to our ability, redeemed our fellow countrymen the Jews, who have been sold to the heathen; and would you yourselves sell your fellow countrymen, and should they sell themselves to us?' Then they were silent and could not find a word to say. Therefore I said, 'The thing that you are doing is not good. Ought you not to walk in

the fear of our God, because of the reproach of the heathen our enemies? For I also, my kinsmen and my servants, lend them money and grain. Let us, therefore, leave off this usury. Restore to them this day their fields, their vineyards, their oliveyards, and their houses, also the usury of the money and of the grain, of the new wine, and of the oil, that you exact from them.'

Then they said, 'We will restore them and will demand nothing from them; we will do just as you say.' Then I called the priests and took an oath of them, that they would do according to this promise. Also I shook out the fold of my garment, and said, 'So may God shake out every man from his house and from the fruit of his labour, who does not fulfil this promise; even thus may he be shaken out and emptied.' And all the assembly said, 'So may it be.' And they praised Jehovah. And the people did according to this promise.

Judas Maccabeus also in the hour of his nation's dire distress proved a valiant servant of Jehovah, and secured for his race its religious and political liberty.

It was natural that the early Christians should regard every Old Testament promise and ideal as a prediction of the work and character of Jesus. Certainly no other Old Testament prophecy anticipates so fully the aims and the work and the methods of the great Teacher and Saviour of men as that of the Second Isaiah. In Jesus alone this ideal found its complete realisation. And yet it is not a specific prediction. Many of its details do not apply exactly to Jesus (*cf.* the description of the sickness of the suffering servant in 53^{2-4}); although in general the points of likeness are exceedingly close. Undoubtedly this ideal exerted a powerful influence upon Jesus' own thought and action. It was to him a challenge, even as it was to Paul, who in Acts 13^{47} quotes Isaiah 49^{6} and declares:

> This is the Lord's command to us:
> 'I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles,
> To bring salvation to the end of the earth.'

Paul was undoubtedly right in recognising that these eternal ideals of service are not limited to any one generation or in-

dividual, but are a constant appeal to every man who would be a loyal follower of the God who is seeking to realise his gracious purpose in human society and in the life of the individual. They are a call to patient, persistent, devoted effort to uplift and transform humanity. They demand a service which is both voluntary and satisfying to him who offers it—a service which represents the highest self-expression of the true servant of Jehovah.

The Service That Is Alone Acceptable to Jehovah. In the dialogue between Jehovah and his people, found in Isaiah 58^{3c-10}, the prophet, in face of that increasing trend toward ceremonialism which was chilling the heart of Judaism, tries to make very clear the essential demands of religion. It is a homely, practical application of the same social principles that are so gloriously set forth in the portrait of the perfect servant of Jehovah:

> Behold, on your fast day ye follow your own pleasure,
> And ye exact all money lent on pledge.
> Behold, ye fast for strife and contention,
> And to smite the poor with the fist.
> Your fasting to-day is not such
> As to make your voice heard on high.
> Can such be the fast which I choose,
> A day when a man mortifies himself?
> To droop one's head like a bulrush,
> And to lie down in sackcloth and ashes?
> Wilt thou call this a fast,
> And a day acceptable to Jehovah?
> Is not this the fast that I choose:
> To loose the fetters of injustice,
> To untie the bands of violence,
> To set free those who are crushed,
> To tear apart every yoke?
> Is it not to share thy bread with the hungry,
> And to bring the wanderers to thy home?
> When thou seest the naked, to cover him,
> And not hide thyself from thine own flesh?
> Then shall thy light break forth as the dawn,
> Thy restoration quickly spring forth,

And thy righteousness shall go before thee;
The glory of Jehovah shall be thy reward.
Then, when thou callest, Jehovah will answer,
When thou criest out, he will say, 'Here am I.'

Here the prophet breaks completely with the pretentious, false type of religious faith which trusted to fasting and ceremonial rites to win the favour of God and at the same time ignored the claims of social justice. He has no sympathy with the ascetic, moping type of piety. He calls for a stalwart, kinetic faith that expresses itself in positive acts of social service. The perfect happiness and well-being both of society and of the individual servant are its fruits. He declares in fearless terms that the true servant of Jehovah is an upbuilder and that his reward is the superlative joy which comes not only from complete self-realisation but also from the consciousness of doing the will of God in human society.

XIII

THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF THE WISE

The Interest of the Wise in Social Questions. During the latter part of the Persian and especially during the Greek period the Jewish wise men or sages to a great extent took the place of the prophets. They accepted and applied to the problems of the individual the principles set forth by those earlier social teachers of the race. While the wise were primarily interested in the individual, they recognised that he could not attain his greatest happiness and well-being unless he learned to do his part as a member of society. Hence, one of the chief aims of the wisdom teachers, as stated in Proverbs 1^3, was that

> Men may receive instruction in wise conduct,
> In righteousness, justice, and uprightness;
> That discretion may be given to the inexperienced,
> And to the young knowledge and a purpose.

The wise also recognised that the happiness and welfare of the individual are to a great extent dependent upon social conditions. Hence they sought both to create a right social order and in so doing to conserve the best interests of the individual. Thus they anticipated Jesus in endeavouring to solve the problems of society by first rearing up socially minded citizens. Like the great Teacher they also recognised that, in the ultimate analysis, the interests of society and of the individual are absolutely identical. In common with their forerunners the prophets, the wise sought to inculcate principles rather than to lay down detailed laws or to establish fixed institutions. They strove to make real the promise of Jeremiah 31^{31-34} that each

man would not be obliged to ask another what were his religious or social duties but would find the guiding principle in his own heart. In other words, they sought to develop and train the moral and social consciousness of each individual.

The Rights and Duties of Husbands and Wives. The Jewish wise men were rigorous champions of sexual morality. They dealt very directly and frankly with what has ever proved a vexatious social problem. Their appeal was primarily to human reason. They earnestly sought to prevent adultery and all forms of sexual immorality (Pr. $5^{15, 18-20}$):

> Drink wine out of your own cistern,
> And running water from your own well,
> That your fountain may be blessed.
> And rejoice in the wife of your youth,
> Let her breast satisfy you at all times,
> And be ever ravished with her love;
> For why should you, my son, be ravished with a stranger,
> And embrace the bosom of another woman?

To-day this is still a tragically pertinent question.

While the wise always emphasise the importance of fidelity in the marriage relations, they knew by experience as well as by observation how largely the happiness of the husband was dependent upon the character and conduct of the wife. Many of their proverbs are as amusing as they are pathetic (Pr. 21^{9}):

> It is better to dwell in the corner of a housetop
> Than with a quarrelsome woman in a large house!

It is interesting to note that another sage, who felt that this statement of the fact was inadequate, has added in the same chapter (Pr. 21^{19}):

> It is better to dwell in the wilderness
> Than with a quarrelsome or fretful woman!

Ben Sira, the noble wise man who lived just before the beginning of the Maccabean struggle (200–170 B.C.), was ap-

preciative of both the feminine character and figure (Ben S. $26^{14, 17}$):

> A silent woman is a gift from the Lord,
> And a well instructed soul is priceless.
> As a lamp shining on the holy candlestick
> So is the beauty of a face on a stately figure.

The wise were keenly alive to the value of a worthy wife (Pr. 12^{4}):

> A good wife is a crown to her husband,
> But one who acts shamefully is as rottenness in his bones.

Even more beautiful is Ben Sira's testimony (Ben S. 26^{1-4}):

> A good wife—blessed is her husband!
> The number of his days is doubled.
> A worthy wife cherishes her husband,
> And he fulfils the years of his life in peace.
> A good wife is a good gift,
> She shall be given as a portion to him who fears God.
> Whether rich or poor his heart is cheerful,
> And his face is merry at all times.

It is significant that the wise reserve for the concluding section of the book of Proverbs a brilliant picture of the ideal wife. It is interesting to note the virtues which they especially commend. She is faithful to her husband's interest, provides well for her family, and is sagacious in managing her business. It is evident from the description that the Hebrew wife enjoyed a large degree of independence, as well as the complete confidence of her husband. Like the modern woman, she was active in works of charity (Pr. 31^{20}):

> She stretches out her hand to the poor,
> And she reaches forth her hands to the needy.

Not only does she provide well for the needs of her household, but, like the woman of to-day, she has her own opinion and is

able to speak with authority on the vital questions of the hour (Pr. 31[26]):

> She opens her mouth with wisdom,
> And kindly instruction is on her tongue.

Such a woman is represented as enjoying not only the praise and esteem of her husband and children but also a noble reputation in the community. Even her husband shines with reflected glory (Pr. 31[23]):

> Her husband is known in the gates,
> When he sits among the elders of the land.

Full liberty and opportunity are granted her (Pr. 31[30, 31]):

> Grace is deceitful and beauty is vain,
> But a woman of intelligence shall be praised.
> Give her the credit for the work of her hand,
> And let her works praise her in the gates.

It is unquestionably a noble portrait which is here presented, and faithfully reflects the remarkable degree of independence vouchsafed to Hebrew women in ancient days. It only lacks the touch of intellectual and social companionship and warm affection between husband and wife to make the picture complete.

The Duties of Parents to Children. The wise men were the forerunners of the modern religious education movement. Their primary aim was so to train the individual in his earlier years that he might attain to complete and efficient manhood. They have aptly stated the fundamental principle of religious education in the proverb (Pr. 22[6]):

> Train a child in the way he should go,
> And even when he is old he will not depart from it.

They threw the responsibility for the moral and religious culture of the child in his earlier years almost entirely upon the

parents. The wise do not appear to have appealed directly to the individual before the age of ten or twelve. They sought to influence his earlier years simply by training his parents. Many of their proverbs have this practical purpose in view. They based their teachings on utilitarian as well as moral grounds (Pr. 29[17]):

> Correct your son and he will be a comfort to you,
> Yea, he will give you delight.

They believed thoroughly in vigorous discipline (Pr. 29[15]):

> The rod and correction give wisdom,
> But a child left to himself brings disgrace on his mother.

This proverb implies that in the earlier years the responsibility for the training of the child rested primarily with the mother. The responsibility for the more rigorous discipline of the son was thrown upon the father (Pr. 13[24], 19[18]):

> He who spares the rod hates his son,
> But he who loves him chastises him.
> Chastise your son while there is still hope,
> And set not your heart on his destruction.

Undoubtedly these proverbs are responsible for innumerable floggings in the past. Modern psychology and education are seriously questioning the practical value of this form of discipline except in rare and extreme cases. Wise parents are substituting for the rod methods of discipline more humane and effective; but the fundamental principle for which the wise were contending remains (Pr. 27[5]):

> Better is open rebuke
> Than love that is hidden.

Though the thought is expressed negatively, love is here given the pre-eminent place. It is a parental love, however, which is strong and unselfish enough, if need be, to find expression in effective discipline.

The wise also emphasise the responsibility of parents to leave a good inheritance to their children. To the value of wealth they were not blind, but they realised that there were still more valuable goods to be bequeathed (Pr. 13^{22}, 17^{6b}, 20^{7}):

> A good man leaves an inheritance to his children's children,
> But the wealth of the sinner is laid up for the righteous.
> The glory of children is their fathers.
> The righteous man who walks in his integrity,
> Blessed are his children after him!

The Duties of Children to Parents. The wise had much to say about the responsibilities of children to their parents. With remarkable beauty and force they here echo the teachings of the earlier prophets. It is evident from their proverbs that in that early day children were not always respectful or loyal to their parents (Pr. 20^{20}, 19^{26}):

> Whoever curses his father or his mother—
> His lamp shall go out in blackest darkness.
> He who maltreats his father and chases away his mother
> Is a son who acts shamefully and disgracefully.

They recognised that one of the most difficult and yet the most important lessons that youth has to learn is to receive parental discipline appreciatively (Pr. 13^{1}, 23^{22}):

> The wise son loves instruction,
> But a scoffer listens not to rebuke.
> Listen to your father who begat you,
> And despise not your mother when she is old.

With their marvellous knowledge of human nature the wise anticipated one of the chief dangers which threatened the Jewish youth. In that ancient society the authority and position of the father was safeguarded even to his declining years. He was the head of the family and the trustee of its wealth. The Semitic woman, however, early loses her beauty and her attractiveness, and her social position is not protected by cus-

tom. Hence, in many a Jewish family the supreme test of filial loyalty was consideration and respect for the mother. This truth is expressed in another proverb which was doubtless based not only upon keen observation but also upon profound experience (Pr. 15^{20}):

> A wise son makes a glad father,
> But a fool despises his mother.

In another proverb the wise appeal to one of the strongest forces that hold the young in the path of rectitude, namely, loyalty to their parents and teachers in the hour of temptation (Pr. 27^{11}):

> Be wise, my son, and make my heart glad,
> That I may answer him who reproaches me.

Ben Sira, in the section (Ben S. 3^{1-16}) in which he discusses the duties of children to parents, sets forth five reasons why children should be loyal. The first is that "he who honours his father makes atonement for sin." The second is that "he will have joy in his own children." The third is that "his prayers will be heard." The fourth reason is transcribed from the appendix to the fifth commandment—"he will have length of days." The final reason urged is that "every blessing will overtake him." With tremendous earnestness and in these varied and striking ways the wise emphasise the truth that unselfish devotion of parents to the interests of their children and the loyalty of children to their parents are the stable foundations not only of individual happiness but of human society.

The Rights and Duties of Masters and Servants. The wise have much to say about the relations of masters and servants. Like the prophets and lawgivers, they almost always champion the cause of the weaker. The servant or slave was still regarded as a member of the Jewish family. In behalf of the slave as well as the master they declare (Pr. 29^{21}):

> He who brings up a servant in luxury
> Will in the end bring trouble upon himself.

At the same time they recognise that a faithful, efficient servant deserves the highest and most practical honours that the family to which he is loyal can confer (Pr. 17[2]):

> A wise servant shall rule over a son who acts shamefully
> And shall share the inheritance among the brothers.

Ben Sira hints at the wrongs that many servants in his day suffered. At the same time he espouses the cause of the oppressed (Ben S. 7[20, 21]):

> Do not maltreat a servant who works faithfully,
> Nor a hired servant who gives his life for you.
> Love a wise servant as yourself;
> Do not defraud him of his liberty.

The Rights and Duties of Rulers and Citizens. The point of view of the wise on political questions is that of the average well-to-do citizen. Their attitude toward their rulers is respectful but not slavish. Like the prophets, they were not blind to the defects of those in authority. Their aim is to hold up before kings and rulers ideals that will insure the well-being of society and the rights of the individual subject (Pr. 16[12], 29[14]):

> It is an abominable thing for kings to do wrong,
> For the throne is established by righteousness.
> A king who judges the poor equitably,
> His throne will be established forever.

The proverb writers also wisely remark (Pr. 25[5]):

> Take away the wicked from the king,
> And his throne is established in righteousness.

On the other hand they rightly observed that (Pr. 29[12, 4]),

> If a ruler listens to falsehood,
> All his servants are wicked.
> A king by justice gives stability to a land,
> But he whose exactions are excessive, overthrows it.

Like Isaiah and the other prophets, the wise were keenly aware of the peril which threatened the land if its rulers were intemperate (Pr. 31[4, 5]):

> It is not for kings to drink wine,
> Nor for rulers to mix strong drink,
> Lest they drink and forget the law,
> And disregard the rights of the afflicted.

In their exhortations to judges they present briefly and pointedly both the moral and the utilitarian reasons why impartial justice should prevail (Pr. 28[21]):

> To show partiality is not good,
> Nor that a man should do wrong for a piece of bread.

In their exhortations addressed to the ordinary citizens the wise were eminently conservative (Pr. 24[21, 22]):

> My son, fear Jehovah and the king,
> Have nothing to do with revolutionists;
> For their calamity shall rise up suddenly,
> And who knows the end of their years?

The following proverb well describes the rôle of the wise in public life (Pr. 29[8]):

> Scornful men set a city aflame;
> But wise men turn away wrath.

It is possible that the sage who wrote this proverb had in mind the counsels of the wise woman of Abel-beth-Maacah (recorded in II Sam. 20[14-22]) which saved her city from destruction when its citizens had rebelled against David and were being besieged by his commander Joab. Especially appropriate in this day of dawning social consciousness is the wise observation (Pr. 11[11]):

> By the blessing of the upright the city is exalted;
> But by the mouth of the wicked it is overthrown.

Man in His Legal Relations. The wise who taught by the city gate, where the ancient Hebrew courts were held, were intensely interested in legal questions and give many practical counsels to their fellow citizens (Pr. $24^{28, 29}$, 25^{18}, 14^{25}):

> Be not a witness against your neighbour without cause,
> And do not deceive with your lips.
> Say not, 'I will do to him as he did to me,
> I will repay the man for his deed.'
> A man who bears false witness against his neighbour
> Is a maul, a sword, a sharp arrow.
> A true witness saves lives,
> But he who utters lies is a source of deception.

The wise were well aware of the evils of suretyship both to the man who gave his bond and to the man who might thereby be tempted to betray the generosity of his friend. Although there must have been cases when their counsel seemed heartless, the wise urged their followers (Pr. $22^{26, 27}$):

> Be not of those who pledge themselves,
> Of those who are surety for debts.
> If you have not wherewith to pay,
> Your bed will be taken from under you.

The wise had a horror of suretyship that was undoubtedly begotten by painful experience. They advised their disciples, if thus involved, to work incessantly for their release (Pr. $6^{1, 4, 5}$):

> My son, if you have become surety for your neighbour,
> If you have pledged yourself for a stranger,
> Go and importune your neighbour,
> Give no sleep to your eyes,
> Nor slumber to your eyelids.
> Deliver yourself as a gazelle from the snare,
> As a bird from the hands of the hunter.

The wise advocated practical charity, but they evidently favoured a direct gift rather than giving a bond or any form of

suretyship which might affect not only the future prosperity and happiness of the giver but also those of his family. Experience confirms the eminent wisdom of their counsel. Fortunately, modern bonding corporations make it possible for the socially minded citizen to avoid the snare which has been the undoing of many thousands and at the same time enable him by a direct loan, if need be, to help a friend or a fellow man in the hour of misfortune.

The Responsibilities and Use of Wealth. The wise have much to say regarding wealth. They plainly declared that wealth unjustly acquired was a curse (Pr. 19[1]):

> Better is the poor who walks in his integrity,
> Than he who is false in his speech, though rich.

At the same time they were fully aware of the value of wealth, if honestly acquired. They recognised that it was one of the credentials of work well done (Pr. 22[4]):

> The reward of humility and the fear of Jehovah
> Is riches, honour, and life.

Ben Sira was even more outspoken (Ben S. 13[24]):

> Wealth is good, if it be without sin,
> And evil is poverty which is due to presumption.

At the same time he declares (Ben S. 14[3]):

> To him who is small of heart wealth is unfitting,
> And why should the evil-intentioned have gold?

The wise also pointed out the folly of making wealth the chief object of endeavour. Their advice in this respect is timely in all ages, for humanity is ever the same (Pr. 23[4, 5]):

> Weary not yourself to become rich,
> Cease by the use of your own understanding.
> For riches take to themselves wings,
> Like an eagle that flies heavenward.

Ben Sira anticipated Jesus in analysing the temptation to make wealth the chief object of a man's ambition (Ben S. 31[6-8]):

> Many are they who have bound themselves to gold,
> And have put their trust in corals.
> It is a stumbling block for the foolish,
> And whoever is simple is snared by it.
> Happy is the rich man who is found blameless,
> And who has not gone astray after mammon.

It is probable that Jesus had this passage in Ben Sira in mind when he declared that a man cannot serve both God and mammon. Ben Sira recognised how difficult it was for a rich man to resist the insidious temptations of wealth (Ben S. 31[10]):

> Who has been tested by it and remained unharmed,
> So that it has redounded to his glory?

His question implies that a man thus tested and found faithful was rare indeed. Whoever did endure this test, he declared, was worthy of the praise of the congregation.

The Evils and Prevention of Poverty. The wise were keenly alive to the evils of poverty. Like the modern sociologists, they recognised that it was an unmitigated evil to those who are its victims (Pr. 10[15], 19[7]):

> A rich man's wealth is his strong city;
> The destruction of the poor is their poverty.
> All a poor man's kinsmen hate him,
> How much more do his friends stand aloof!

The wise do not commend the action of a poor man's kinsmen and friends. They simply take human nature as it is. Their teaching is plainly addressed to the lazy and inefficient. The aim is to arouse their ambitions and energies and thus to keep them out of poverty. By preventive means they sought to deliver men from this evil. They recognised that faithful labour and diligence were the best preventives (Pr. 10[5], 12[27]):

He who gathers in summer is a wise son,
But he who sleeps in harvest time acts shamefully.
A lazy man does not stir up his game,
But a diligent man possesses wealth.

One of their chief arguments against intemperance was economic (Pr. $23^{20, 21}$):

Be not among those who drink wine to excess,
Among gluttonous eaters of flesh;
For the drunkard and the glutton come to poverty,
Drowsiness clothes a man in rags.

With a superlative wisdom begotten by insight and observation the wise set before themselves and their disciples as the highest economic ideal the golden mean between poverty and extreme wealth. In one of the classic passages, which is echoed in the prayer that Jesus taught his disciples, they pray (Pr. 30^{7-9}):

Two things I ask of thee,
Deny me them not before I die:
Remove far from me deceit and lying,
Give me neither poverty nor riches;
Provide me with the food that I need,
Lest I be full and deny thee,
And say, 'Who is Jehovah?'
Or lest I be poor and steal,
And profane the name of my God.

XIV

THE GOOD NEIGHBOUR AND CITIZEN ACCORDING TO THE WISE

The Characteristics That Make a Bad Neighbour and Citizen. The wise were working for a very definite and concrete end. Out of the inexperienced youth who came under their influence they were endeavouring to develop good neighbours and citizens. This thoroughly constructive work was their great contribution to human society. They sought to attain their end by holding up before their disciples a variety of concrete pictures. On the one side they presented the composite portrait of the bad neighbour and citizen, that the young might note his characteristics and learn to avoid them. In contrast they drew a vivid picture of the good neighbour and citizen and of his contributions to society. Evil and temptation were so omnipresent and insistent that the wise were tempted to give a large proportion of their attention to the negative portrait. Many of their aphorisms are exceedingly brilliant and compel attention. Sometimes by ridicule, sometimes by denunciation, and sometimes by simply depicting consequences they aimed to make evil loathsome. They pointed out that a lazy man was a burden to society (Pr. 10^{26}):

> As vinegar to the teeth and smoke to the eyes,
> So is a lazy man to those who send him.

Equally unsocial and unwise is a censorious attitude toward one's fellow men (Pr. 11^{12}):

> He who despises his neighbour is lacking in wisdom,
> But a man of discretion keeps silent.

The disastrous effects of hatred, anger, and jealousy are clearly set forth (Pr. 10^{12}, 15^{18}, 27^{4}):

> Hatred stirs up strifes,
> But love hides all transgressions.
> A wrathful man stirs up contention,
> But one who is slow to anger appeases strife.
> Wrath is ruthless and anger is destructive,
> But who is able to stand before jealousy?

None appreciated more clearly than did the wise the futility of revenge. Their counsel is as sane as it is practical (Pr. 20^{22}):

> Say not, 'I will revenge a wrong!'
> Trust to Jehovah and he will save you.

Ingratitude, they declared, will bring its own direful consequences (Pr. 17^{13}):

> Whoever returns evil for good,
> Evil shall not depart from his house.

With great pedagogical skill they appealed to the sense of humour, to the good sense, and to the sense of honour, in order to deter their disciples from rushing into contention and strife (Pr. 20^{3}, $26^{17, 21}$):

> It is an honour for a man to keep aloof from strife;
> But every fool shows his teeth!
> He who meddles with a quarrel not his own
> Is like a passer-by who seizes a dog by the ears.
> As coals are to the embers and wood to fire
> So is a quarrelsome man to inflame strife.

A profound experience and knowledge of human life lie back of the familiar proverb (Pr. 17^{1}):

> Better is a dry morsel and quietness therewith
> Than a house full of feasting and strife.

The wise also appreciate the fact that insincerity and flattering words fetter men in their pursuit of high ideals, while friendly criticism speeds them toward their goal (Pr. 29[5], 28[23], 12[19]):

> A man who cajoles his neighbour
> Spreads a net for his steps.
> He who reproves will afterward find more favour
> Than he who flatters with the tongue.
> A faithful lip is established forever,
> But the lying tongue is but for a moment.

The wise branded slander as one of the most unsocial of crimes (Pr. 11[9], 26[20], 16[28]):

> With his mouth the impious man destroys his neighbour,
> But by knowledge the righteous are delivered.
> Where there is no wood, the fire goes out,
> And where there is no talebearer, strife ceases.
> A false man scatters discord abroad,
> And a whisperer separates intimate friends.

The Fundamental Social Virtues. In their positive picture of the good citizen and neighbour the wise interpreted into individual terms the social principles laid down by the earlier prophets. They echo the words of Amos and Hosea in the familiar proverb (Pr. 21[3]):

> To do what is just and right
> Is more acceptable to Jehovah than sacrifice.

They declared (Pr. 10[11], 28[12]):

> The mouth of the righteous is a fountain of life,
> But the mouth of the wicked conceals violence.
> When the righteous triumph, great is the glory,
> But when the wicked rise, men hide themselves.

The importance and value of charity toward another's faults is strongly emphasised (Pr. 17[9]):

He who covers up [another's] faults seeks to win love,
But he who harps on a matter alienates his friend.

Well did the wise appreciate the saving qualities of tact, guided by good will (Pr. $15^{4, 1}$, 16^{24}):

A soothing tongue is a tree of life,
But violent words break the spirit.
A soft answer turns away wrath,
But a harsh word stirs up anger.
Pleasant words are as honeycomb,
Sweet to the soul and health to the bones.

Noble indeed is the portrait which the wise present of the generous neighbour and friend (Pr. 12^{26}, $3^{27, 28}$, 11^{25}):

The righteous is a guide to his neighbour,
But the way of the wicked misleads them.
Withhold not good from your neighbour
When it is in your power to do it.
Say not to your neighbour 'Go and come again,
And to-morrow I will give,' when you have it by you.
The liberal man shall be prospered,
And he who waters shall himself be watered.

The following proverb indicates that a corner in the grain market is no new crime (Pr. 11^{26}):

He who withholds the grain, the people curse,
But a blessing is on the head of him who sells it.

To these fine lineaments are added the still finer qualities of love and mercy (Pr. 19^{17}, $3^{3, 4}$, 15^{17}):

He who has pity upon the poor lends to Jehovah,
And his good deed will repay him.
Let not kindness and truth forsake you;
Bind them about your neck.
So shall you find favour and good repute
In the sight of God and man.
Better is a portion of herbs where love is,
Than a stalled ox and hatred therewith.

In the concluding touches which the proverb-writers added to their alluring portrait of the good neighbour and citizen they appeal both to the utilitarian motives and to the higher idealism of their disciples (Pr. $25^{21, 22}$):

> If your enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat,
> And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink;
> For you will heap coals of fire upon his head,
> And Jehovah will reward you.

The Psalmists' Definition of the Qualifications of a Worthy Citizen. Israel's teachers knew well the value of setting their teachings to music. A majority of the hymns in the Old Testament Psalter come from those who were chiefly interested in the liturgical and devotional aspects of religion, so that the social note is not so prominent as in other Old Testament writings. The majority of the psalms, however, were written to voice the gratitude or woes or aspirations of the community. Many, like Psalms 48, 84, 87, 124, 126, and 129, breathe an intense patriotism. The element of social worship runs through all of them, but is especially marked in such psalms as 27, 36, 42, 65, and 122. This community of worship was the strongest bond that held together the scattered members of the Jewish race during the tragic centuries following the Babylonian exile.

The psalmists also accepted the prophetic definition of religion. Into the heart of the majestic twenty-fourth psalm a wise man and poet has injected the searching question (Ps. 24^{3}):

> Who shall ascend the hill of Jehovah?
> Who shall stand in his holy place?

To this vital question the psalmist himself replies (Ps. 24^{4}):

> He who has clean hands and a pure heart,
> Who has not sworn falsely.

Psalm 15 contains a detailed expansion of Psalm $24^{3, 4}$. It also opens with the question:

O Jehovah, who shall abide in thy tent?
Who shall dwell in thy holy hill?

The reply represents the psalmist's decalogue. In ten brief lines the essential qualifications of a true worshipper of Jehovah are clearly set forth (Ps. 15^{2-5}):

He who walks without fault and does right,
And speaks the truth in his heart,
Who utters no slander with his tongue,
Does no wrong to his friend,
Nor takes up a reproach against his neighbour;
In his eyes the reprobate is despised,
But those who fear Jehovah he honours.
He swears to his neighbour and changes not;
He lends not his money for usury,
Nor takes a bribe against the innocent.

Upright conduct in daily life, sincerity in thought and purpose, refusal to give currency to any kind of slander, blameless dealing with friends, eagerness to silence all harsh or malicious charges against neighbours, a noble contempt for deliberate wrong-doers, high esteem and consideration for the loyal servants of God, unswerving fidelity to each and every promise, readiness to lend money to the needy without interest, and a lofty sense of honour that refrains from taking a bribe—these are the qualities which are essential to the true worshipper of God to-day as of old. Truly did the psalmist declare that

He who does these things shall never be moved.

The Culminating Old Testament Portrait of a Social Citizen. The unknown but immortal author of the lyric drama of Job has given the crowning portrait of the social citizen in Job 29 and 31. Condemned by his dearest friends and seemingly by Jehovah himself, the hero of that great subjective drama solemnly declares before God and man not only his innocence but also the positive character of his virtue. In the mind of the poet-sage who created this Promethean character

the essential test of true religion is not formal, legalistic piety but deeds and motives. He builds on the foundations laid by the earlier prophets and sages. By four centuries at least he anticipates many of the fundamental teachings of Jesus. Not boastingly, but with the same honest, open-minded attitude toward life that characterises the entire poem, Job is made to review his kindly acts and his knightly services in the days before swift calamity smote him and nearly swept him from his moorings. Here we have the description of a Jewish knight whose spirit and achievements rival and even eclipse those of the most valiant champions of the needy and oppressed that mediæval Christian history produced. It was not merely an ideal but an historic fact that Job proclaimed when he declared (Job $29^{11\text{-}17}$):

> When the ear heard, then it blessed me;
> When the eye saw, it gave witness to me,
> Because I delivered the poor who cried,
> The fatherless also, who had none to help him.
> The blessing of him who was ready to perish came upon me,
> And I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.
> I put on righteousness and it clothed me;
> My justice was as a robe and a turban.
> I was eyes to the blind,
> And feet was I to the lame.
> I, indeed, was a father to the needy,
> And the cause which I knew not I searched out.
> And I broke the jaws of the unrighteous,
> And plucked the prey out of his teeth.

In Job 31 is found the oath of clearance, by which, in keeping with the custom of the ancient Hebrew law-courts, a man unjustly arraigned was able by an appeal to God to establish his innocence. Having been misjudged by his friends, Job turns as a last refuge to the God who is at the same time his Adversary, his Judge, and his Vindicator. The implication in the oath of clearance is that, if every assertion is not true, Jehovah himself will speedily punish and in superlative measure. In many ways, therefore, this chapter represents the culmination of the

great poem of Job. In this dramatic form the author has expressed his lofty yet practical social idealism. Passionately Job protests (Job $31^{5, 6}$):

> If I have walked with falsehood,
> And my foot has hastened to deceit,
> Let me be weighed on a just balance,
> That God may know my integrity.

Then he declares in general terms the purity of his purpose as well as of his life (Job $31^{7, 8}$):

> If my step has turned out of the way,
> And my heart followed my inclination,
> Or if any spot besmirches my hands;
> Then let me sow and let another eat,
> And let the produce of my field be uprooted.

In the next stanza he asserts that he is free from all social immorality, either in act or thought (Job 31^{9-12}):

> If my heart has been enticed unto a woman,
> If I have lain in wait at my neighbour's door;
> Then let my wife grind for another,
> And let others bow down upon her;
> For that is a heinous crime,
> Yea, it is guilt to be punished by the judges;
> For it is a fire that consumes even unto the grave,
> And burns up all my increase.

In this stanza Job reflects the Oriental conception of the position of woman. But a wife does not become another man's slave unless her husband, her natural protector, has suffered even a worse fate. Nowhere in the Old Testament are the deadly effects of illicit passion, not only upon him who entertains it but upon all who are dependent upon him, more strikingly depicted.

The poet next sets forth man's primary duty in his domestic relations. He recognises the infinite worth of every personality,

however low in the social ladder the individual may stand. To each Job concedes certain inalienable rights, and protests that even in the case of his household slaves he has never disregarded those rights. The underlying reason is because they are both sons of a common Father. Here, certainly, is the essence of democracy in its purest form (Job 31^{13-15}):

> If I have despised the cause of my man-servant,
> Or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me,
> What then shall I do when God taketh vengeance?
> And when he visiteth, what shall I answer him?
> Did not he who made me in the womb make him?
> And were we not fashioned in one womb?

In the mind of this superb social citizen the poor and the defenseless are his kinsmen with whom he shares his last morsel. He exemplifies the Golden Rule centuries before it was formulated. Nothing is more abhorrent to him than the thought of using his influence with the judges, who sat at the city gate, to take advantage of the innocent man who had no friend at court (Job $31^{16, 17, 19-22}$):

> If I have denied the poor their desire,
> Or have disappointed the hopes of the widow,
> Or have eaten my morsel alone,
> So that the fatherless has not eaten thereof;
> If I have seen any perishing for want of clothing,
> Or because the needy have no covering;
> If his loins have not blessed me,
> And if he has not been warmed with the fleece of my sheep;
> If I have lifted my hands against the blameless,
> Because I saw my help in the gate;
> Then let my shoulder fall from the shoulder-blade,
> And my arm be broken from the bone.

The force which holds him true to the highest social ideal is his unswerving faith in the justice of the God who rules the universe. Job has firmly grasped the truth that it is as foolish to disregard moral as it is natural laws (Job 31^{23}):

For the dread of God restrains me,
And by reason of his majesty I can do nothing.

In his teachings regarding wealth the author of Job at many points anticipates those of Jesus. He held and clearly taught that man cannot serve both God and mammon (Job 31[24, 25, 28]):

If I have put my confidence in gold,
And have said to fine gold, 'In thee I trust!'
If I have rejoiced because my wealth is great,
And because my hand had gotten much;
. . . . . .
This also were a guilt to be punished by the judges,
For I should have denied the God who is above.

In verses [29, 30] Job breaks with the Old Testament psalmists, many of whom deemed it a virtue to curse their enemies, and stands on the threshold of the New Testament. As has been truly said:

> If chapter 31 is the crown of the whole ethical development of the Old Testament, verse [29] is the jewel of that crown.

Even though Job does not say, "I have loved my enemies," he does boldly declare that he has banished hate from his heart (Job 31[29, 30]):

If I have rejoiced at the destruction of him who hates me,
Or been exultant when evil found him—
Verily I have not permitted my mouth to sin
By asking his life with a curse.

So intense are Job's protestations and so strongly is he convinced of his own innocence that in these impassioned passages he does not stop to suggest the penalty that God might appropriately inflict if his words were false.

He next declares that he has been absolutely loyal to the highest dictates of Oriental hospitality. He has lost no opportunity to serve even the stranger and alien. In all his

social relations he has been faithful to the commands of his own enlightened conscience. Public opinion and social usage have not abashed nor deflected him from the path of service (Job 31^{31-34}):

> If the men of my tent have not said,
> 'Who can find one who has not been filled with his meat?'
> The sojourner has not lodged in the street,
> But I have opened wide my doors to the traveller.
> If like Adam I have covered my transgression
> By hiding my iniquity in my bosom,
> Because I feared the great multitude,
> And the contempt of families terrified me,
> So that I kept silence, and went not out of the door—

Again he leaves a blank for the penalty, that God himself may inflict whatever is just.

Finally, in all his economic dealings with his fellow men he is guided by the principles of strict justice. No dependent class has been exploited by him. His figure is apparently drawn from the ancient story of Cain in Genesis 4, which implies that he regards such injustice as nothing less than murder (Job 31^{38-40}):

> If my land cries out against me,
> And if its furrows weep together;
> If I have eaten its produce without money,
> Or caused its owners to lose their lives;
> Let thistles grow instead of wheat,
> And stinking weeds instead of barley.

This remarkable picture of the social citizen is a fitting climax to the social idealism of the Old Testament. Together with the portrait of the perfect servant of Jehovah, it links the social teachings recorded in the older Testament closely to those of the New.

XV

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF HILLEL AND JOHN THE BAPTIST

The Century of Social Inertia. The Maccabean period, which began about 165 and extended to the conquest of Palestine by Pompey in 63 B.C., was singularly lacking in social idealism. It was a century of great political upheaval. At first under the organised and relentless persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes the very existence of Judaism hung in the balance. When at last, after a long, heroic struggle, the Jews won first religious and then political independence, their attention was almost wholly engrossed in national questions. The slumbering political aspirations of the race were aroused. Their patriots began to dream again of a world-wide empire. The noble missionary ideals of their earlier prophets were also to a great extent forgotten, for the hatreds engendered by the bitter strife with their heathen neighbours embittered the hearts even of their religious leaders. Internecine civil struggles soon absorbed the attention of all. Moreover, during the Maccabean period their inherited laws and ceremonial institutions, for which their martyrs had given their life-blood, were appreciated as never before in their history. The result was that the old ceremonial conception of religion largely took the place of the ethical and social ideals of their pre-exilic prophets. As in time the political situation became more hopeless and the iron hand of Rome closed upon them, the Jewish idealists fixed their attention more and more upon the popular apocalyptic hopes whose realisation was conditioned not upon human endeavour but upon a divine, miraculous interposition.

The Maccabean period witnessed the rise of the three great parties in Judaism, but none of them strongly emphasised social

righteousness. The Sadducees, the rich and ruling high-priestly party, were conservative in theory and belief and selfish opportunists in practice. The Pharisees constituted the popular democratic party, but the majority of them looked for a miraculous transformation of society and regarded the punctilious keeping of the ceremonial law as the chief end of religion. Their primary interests, therefore, were not in social questions. While the Essenes practised charity and recognised as supreme the law of brotherhood, they were ascetics who avoided rather than faced squarely the social problems of their age. Only a few members of the Jewish race, belonging for the most part to the humble middle class, continued to cherish the social ideals of the earlier prophets and sages, and to long not for a catastrophic upheaval but for a moral and social awakening which would banish from the heart of Jew and Gentile the prevailing enmity and injustice and oppression and bind together all members of the human race into one great brotherhood. At the beginning of the first Christian era what the Jews supremely needed was a new school of social prophets to break the bonds of ceremonialism and false theology, to give them more spiritual ideals and aspirations, to turn their eyes to the social problems of their race and age, and thus to deliver them from the deadly lethargy which was threatening their very life.

The Social Reawakening Led by Hillel. It is significant that the moving spirit in the ethical and social reawakening which marked the closing years of the first pre-christian century was not a prophet but a rabbi. Hillel, like the great rabbis of his race, inherited the ideals and methods of the earlier Jewish wise men. Unlike his contemporaries, his chief emphasis was not on the ceremonial but on character and life. Born among the Jews of Babylon, he came, about 40 B.C., to Jerusalem to study in this great university centre of Judaism. He died about 10 A.D., so that it is more than possible that he exerted a direct and personal influence upon both John the Baptist and Jesus. Certainly if the young boy of Nazareth, who so eagerly improved his earliest opportunity (about 8

A.D.) to question the rabbis at Jerusalem, did not come into personal contact with Hillel, he did with his disciples, who for over a century continued to be the leading interpreters of the Jewish religion.

Unfortunately we know Hillel only through the chance references and the quotations from his teachings which have come down through later Jewish writings. They indicate that he was born in poverty and was personally acquainted with the painful problems of life. He was famous for his meekness, his tolerance, his breadth, and his democracy. He genuinely loved all men, and the needy were never turned away from his door without some tangible evidence of his interest and sympathy. Like Socrates, he held that ignorance was the chief cause of sin:

> The ignorant man cannot, from the nature of things, have an aversion to evil.

He also taught that those who will not learn deserve to die.

Hillel's Social Teachings. The basis of Hillel's social teachings was evidently a simple but profound consciousness of God. Alluding to the throngs assembled on the great feast day for worship in the temple, he declared in the name of God:

> If I am here, every one is here.
> If I am not here, no one is here.

Commenting on a passage in the book of Ezra, Hillel also put in the mouth of God these significant words:

> If thou come into my house, I come into thy house;
> If thou come not into my house, I come not into thine.

Hillel struck a noble note in his great teaching:

> If you are where no man is, show yourself a man.

Like the earlier sages, he pointed out the ultimate unity of a man's individual and social obligations. His language is epigrammatic, but the meaning is clear:

If I am not for myself, who is for me?
And if I am for myself alone, where am I?
And if not now, then when?

He also taught that he who seeks to aggrandise himself destroys himself. Like Jesus, Hillel evidently saw clearly that no man could ever fully express himself except in devoted service to society.

Hillel's Standards for the Socially Minded Citizen. Hillel's aim was clearly to develop socially minded neighbours and citizens who would constitute a perfect society. He was no ascetic, either in life or teaching. He exhorted his disciples:

Separate not yourself from the congregation.

He urged each to make a harmonious unit in society:

Appear neither naked nor clothed,
Neither sitting nor standing,
Neither laughing nor weeping.

The selfish man he likened to one at sea in a boat with others who insists upon boring a hole under his seat. Hillel anticipated Jesus' teaching:

Judge not that ye be not judged,

for he laid down the noble precept:

Judge not another until you have come into his place.

Hillel was also a strong advocate of peace. He believed thoroughly in the might of right. He taught that obedience to the moral and civil law was the essential basis of peace:

Be among the disciples of Aaron, who loved peace and received peace and loved all creatures and guided them to the law.

His supreme utterance, which may well have been in the mind of Jesus when he laid down the same great principle in positive form, was:

> Do not to your neighbour what is unpleasant to yourself; this is the whole law; all else is but exposition.

The Antecedents of John the Baptist. In the minds of most modern students John the Baptist is rarely associated with Hillel; and yet these two great teachers had much in common. Hillel represented the noblest teachings of later Judaism; John the first-fruits of a new and supremely vital world movement to which Hillel appears to have given the first impetus. It is only the perspective of history that has made these two great leaders the representatives of two distinct religions. In its origin there was no sharp distinction between Christianity and Judaism. In the eyes of his contemporaries John was in every respect a loyal Jew. Both lived in the same epoch-making half-century. One was a rabbi, the other a prophet, yet each drew his inspiration from the earlier moral and spiritual teachers of their race. Both declared that the essentials in religion and life were not creeds and ceremonials but character and acts. The fundamental teachings of both were ethical and social. John is the younger and probably owed much to Hillel. According to Christian tradition he was by birth and training a priest and was reared at Jerusalem under the shadow of the temple. During John's childhood and youth Hillel was still uttering his great social message.

Against the formalism, the hypocrisy, and the corrupt life of the city he early reacted. It was probable that it was this reaction which carried him out into the wilderness of Judea, far from all the injustice and hypocritical formalism of Jerusalem. Here he doubtless came into personal contact with the Essenes, the members of the Jewish monastic order which was strongly intrenched in this region. Their zeal for social service must have made a deep impression upon him; but the chief influence in John's life was the social message of the earlier prophets such as Amos and Isaiah. The conditions with which they dealt were very similar to those which confronted John. In their ethical and social interpretation of religion his awakened soul found satisfaction. His task henceforth was to impress

the principles which they proclaimed upon the dull consciousness of his contemporaries. John's nature as well as his religious experiences made him a prophet rather than a rabbi. He had the enthusiastic and passionate spirit of a reformer. It is significant that his age likened him to the fiery Elijah, who at an earlier period in Israel's history had aroused the sleeping conscience of the nation. John, like the earlier prophets, spoke to masses and classes rather than to the individual. He was one of the great pioneers of human history whose mission was to uproot all old prejudices and traditions and break the hard, stony soil of conventionalism and ceremonialism and to prepare it for the reception of the new seed which only a skilled teacher could plant.

The Social Standards Established by John. John has frequently been interpreted as an apocalyptic dreamer, but the brief extracts from his addresses that are preserved in the earlier gospel records are all distinctly social. For the most part they are unmistakable echoes of the social sermons of Amos and Isaiah. Concretely and effectively John proclaimed the brotherhood of man and the obligations which this relation entailed. To all who came to him in quest of the secret of life, both here and hereafter, he declared (Lk. 3^{11}):

> He who has two coats, let him give to him who has none;
> And he who has food, let him do likewise.

Here is found the germinal ideal which took form in the brotherhood or devoted community which even during John's lifetime grew into a strong and widely extended sect (Acts 19^{1-4}). Under the influence of Jesus' personality and teachings this fraternal spirit expanded until it became the exquisite flower of early Christianity. To the tax collectors, who came to John with the question of what they should do, John gave an answer which laid the foundations for a new social attitude and level of living (Lk. 3^{13}):

> Extort no more than is assigned to you.

In reply to the question of the soldiers, he placed the entire emphasis on social responsibility, urging them to abstain from the lawless acts which made them the foes rather than the guardians of society (Lk. 3^{14}):

> Use violence toward none,
> Neither accuse any one wrongfully;
> But be content with your wages.

By these plain, practical teachings John sought to set each man in the right social relations to his fellows and to society. It was through these familiar, homely words that he touched the conscience of his race and even that of the pagan and Samaritan soldiers who fought in the pay of Rome.

John's Conception of the New Era That Was Dawning. John the Baptist stirred the various classes in his nation not only because he revived the social emphasis on religion but also because he struck an exceedingly popular note. For nearly a century Judaism had chafed under the harsh yoke of Rome. The memories of the seemingly miraculous victories under Judas Maccabeus and his brothers were still fresh in their minds. Out of bitter persecutions emerged a series of apocalypses (of which those in Daniel 7–12 are the most familiar) filled with glowing promises of the glorious deliverances which God was about to effect for his people, and of the new era which was soon to dawn in which all evil should be banished and righteousness and peace prevail universally. The Old Testament closes with this message of hope (Mal. 4^{1}):

> Behold the day is coming that shall burn like a furnace,
> And all the proud and those who work iniquity shall be stubble.

Practically all classes in Judaism in the days of John were waiting expectantly for the dawning of this new era. The rabbis also taught that the chief agent in inaugurating it was to be the long-promised Messiah, who was to be suddenly and supernaturally revealed. The book of Malachi was one of the chief corner-stones upon which this belief was founded (Mal. 3^{1-3a}):

Behold I will send my messenger,
And he will prepare the way before me,
And the Lord whom ye seek will suddenly come to his temple.
But who can endure the day of his coming?
And who will stand when he appeareth?
For he is like a refiner's fire and like fullers' lye;
And he will sit as a refiner and purifier.

To these popular hopes John appealed; but, instead of encouraging the people to expect a miraculous transformation, like the earlier ethical prophets he taught them that each man had a vital part to perform in inaugurating the kingdom of heaven, which was the popular designation of the new era (Lk. 3^{9}):

Already the axe is laid at the root of the tree.
Every one therefore that does not bring forth good fruit
Is cut down and cast into the fire.

John's Prediction of the Advent of a Greater Spiritual Reformer. John also declared that a greater teacher and prophet was soon to come who would do a deeper spiritual work than he and completely eliminate the evil in society and in men's characters (Lk. $3^{16, 17}$):

I indeed baptise you with water; but one is coming mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose. He will baptise you with the Holy Spirit and with fire. His fan is in his hand and he will thoroughly cleanse his threshing floor and gather the wheat into his barn; but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire.

John's concrete predictions appear to have been in part suggested by his keen appreciation of the moral and social needs of his day and in part by the predictions of earlier prophets. These do not, however, entirely explain the note of certainty in his predictions. It is true that he does not by any means give a perfect portrait of Jesus and his work. As a matter of fact the mission and methods of the Teacher of Nazareth were not

destructive but constructive; but John's intense conviction that the new and long-hoped-for era was imminent finds its only satisfactory explanation in that prophetic consciousness which he shared in common with the great prophets of his race.

The Significance of John's Work. His striking prediction was undoubtedly one of the main links which in the thought of later generations bound him closely to Jesus. The record is so meagre that it is difficult fully to estimate the significance of John's work. It is evident, however, that he shook for the moment at least the smug self-satisfaction of the Pharisaic leaders of the nation, and gave to the mass of the common people a new conception of the kingdom of God, and of the rôle which they each must play if it was to be inaugurated. John set again the ethical and social teachings of the earlier prophets and of the more spiritual psalmists in the centre of focus. At the same time he shattered the narrow partisan claims of Judaism (Lk. 3^{8}):

> Bring forth, therefore, fruits worthy of repentance and do not say to yourselves, 'We are descendants of Abraham'; for I tell you that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham.

Thus he prepared the way for the work which Jesus and Paul completed. Furthermore, he rallied a group of disciples who were working and looking for a new spiritual era and for a new and greater teacher. Above all, the sturdy social message of John the Baptist apparently drew the Master Builder of Nazareth from the quiet of his peasant home into the great centres of national life and activity. It was by these inestimable services that John won his title as the herald of the new era that witnessed the work and teaching of Jesus.

PART III

THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF JESUS

XVI

JESUS' APPROACH TO THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

The Master Builder of Nazareth. The majority of men to-day still think of Jesus primarily in theological and metaphysical terms. They do so because from the days of Paul even to the close of the last century the church has placed the chief emphasis upon this conception of him. If we would really know him, however, it is necessary to follow the guidance not of the later creeds but of the oldest gospel writers, like Mark, who introduce us to him as the Master Builder of Nazareth, the friend and teacher of men. Luke gives us a brief but vivid picture of his developing childhood, of his normal growth, of his simple, natural relations with God and men, and of that ever deepening and broadening knowledge of human life which came with increased experience. The history of the first thirty years of Jesus' life must be reconstructed chiefly from a knowledge of his environment and inheritance and from the records of his mature life and teachings. These data, while not complete, are yet sufficient to give a clear-cut conception of his unique personality. But the character and faith of Jesus that were perfected during these years were unique primarily because they were absolutely normal. While all other men had turned aside, he followed persistently and joyously the narrow way that leads to liberty and fulness of life and intimate fellowship with God. Having found that path and the satisfying goal to which it leads, he devoted the remaining years of his life to showing his fellow men how they might follow that path and reach the same goal. Viewed through the earliest gospel records, the character of Jesus is incomparably simple, for it was not distorted by the sins and prejudices which make the characters of other men complex and only partly comprehensible.

The Evidences of Jesus' Interest in Social Questions. Jesus sprang from a race of social teachers. Almost every page of the ancient scriptures which he read and studied intently and eagerly was saturated with social idealism. As a boy at Jerusalem he came into direct contact with the stirrings of the new social awakening inaugurated by Hillel. In his early manhood it was the voice of the heroic social teacher, John the Baptist, that proved irresistible. Thus the strongest influences that from childhood touched and stirred Jesus were distinctly social.

Jesus' own personal inclinations and impulses were all social. There was nothing of the recluse or ascetic in his nature. He himself declared by word as well as by his manner of living that "the Son of man came eating and drinking" (Mt. 11^{19}). He fully appreciated and even called attention to the wide difference in this respect between John the Baptist and himself. He was a sympathetic friend of all classes and above all of the tax collectors and sinners—the classes that presented in many respects the most difficult and insistent social problem of his day. In the few rare instances in which he defined his mission he declared that he came to save these social outcasts, "the down and outs" of Jewish society. He met his death as a direct result of his attempt to right a great social wrong. The final charge which the conspiring high priest brought against him was (Lk. 23^{5}):

> He stirs up the people, teaching them throughout all of Judea, beginning from Galilee and coming even here.

Later Pilate declared to the high priest (Lk. 23^{14}):

> You brought this man to me as a seducer of the people.

The oldest gospel records make it clear that Jesus inaugurated a great popular, democratic movement. It was the common people who "heard him gladly." The supreme evidence, however, of his interest in social questions is found in the character of his teachings. Fully half of them are distinctly social in

their content and application. It was pre-eminently a social gospel which he proclaimed. This new social teaching was the essence of the "good tidings" that arrested the attention of Judaism and of the Græco-Roman world.

The Record of Jesus' Social Teachings. Widely varying opinions are held to-day regarding Jesus' attitude toward social questions. These differences are partly due to the incompleteness of the gospel records. Three of the gospel writers, the authors of Mark, Matthew, and John, were not primarily interested in social problems. Instead they were chiefly concerned with presenting the evidences of Jesus' divine nature and authority. The wide-spread belief in his speedy second coming also undoubtedly tended to blunt the social consciousness of these early Christian writers and rendered it difficult for them to appreciate fully his social teachings and their immediate application. Of all the New Testament writers, Paul and Luke were most interested in the social aspect of Jesus' message. Paul's interest was practical and begotten by his intimate knowledge of the pressing social problems which confronted the Christians in the various communities which he had founded and for which he felt a deep pastoral responsibility. His memory was logical rather than verbal. The result is that he has preserved the underlying principles rather than the exact form of Jesus' social teachings.

Of all the New Testament writers, Luke, the physician, was most keenly alive to the importance of giving a full record of Jesus' social teachings, although, like Paul, he was often inclined to paraphrase them. If it had not been for Luke's social interest we would have known nothing, for example, of Jesus' parables of the Rich Man and Lazarus and of the Good Samaritan. To him alone we owe the priceless record of the social conversion of the grafting tax collector Zaccheus. Luke's intense social interest possibly led him in one or two cases to heighten the colours. Thus, in 12^{33} he makes universal the command to sell all possessions and give to the poor, which, according to Matthew $19^{16\text{-}22}$, was addressed simply to a rich young man in whom Jesus saw large possibilities of discipleship. In

Luke $6^{20, 21}$ the version of Jesus' beatitudes, which in Matthew read:

> Happy are the poor in spirit

and,

> Happy are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness,

become:

> Happy are you poor!
> For yours is the kingdom of God.
> Happy are you who hunger now!
> For you shall be satisfied.

To this seemingly socialistic utterance Luke alone of all the gospel writers adds the antithetic equivalent (Lk. $6^{24, 25}$):

> But woe to you rich folk!
> You get all the comforts you will ever get.
> Woe to you who have your fill to-day!
> For you shall be hungry.

Even if, with his keen interest in the poor and needy, Luke at one or two points gave Jesus' social teachings a distinctly socialistic interpretation, we owe to him an inestimable debt, for he, more than any other gospel writer, has pictured Jesus as the friend of sinners and outcasts, of children and women, and of the socially disinherited classes. In this great social gospel are revealed most clearly Jesus' chivalry and his sympathy for the helpless. At the same time it is profoundly significant that in the gospels where the interest is not primarily social there is a wealth of social principles, which indicates how extensive and all-pervading was this element in Jesus' teachings. Undoubtedly in an age which had not as yet awakened to the importance of social questions many of Jesus' important social doctrines were lost. Notwithstanding these limitations, the New Testament writings as a whole present sufficient data for determining with relative certainty, in connection with every important issue, the social principles which he set forth. These principles are further illustrated by their practical application in the life of the early church. Thus, although the records are incidental

and in many respects incomplete, we have to-day a more definite and comprehensive knowledge of Jesus' social philosophy than that of any other biblical teacher.

The Social Problems of Jesus' Day. The social conditions which confronted Jesus were in many ways very different from those with which the earlier prophets dealt. Rome had taken out of the hands of the Jews practically all political control. In consequence the most insistent social problems were not political. The question of Roman taxation was a sore spot in the Jewish consciousness. The iniquitous system of collection, especially that employed in farming the custom taxes, aroused bitter resentment. Injustice on the one side and bitter prejudice on the other characterised the respective attitudes of rulers and ruled. What was supremely needed was a common principle on which both could stand and justice could be established.

Equally unscrupulous and grasping was the attitude of the Jewish temple authorities toward the common people. In reality this problem was far more vital than that presented by the imperial tax, for the injustice fell heaviest upon the poorest classes, and the insidious graft was masked by time-honoured religious sanction. It is significant that these bazaars, established by the high priests in the temple court, represented the one form of social injustice which Jesus openly attacked. Equally insidious and deadly was the religious ostracism which was meted out by the religious leaders of the nation to the helpless, ignorant, toiling masses, "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," who were either unable to conform to the rigorous demands of the ceremonial law, or else by virtue of their social position and defective moral training lacked the desire and the incentive. In the eyes of many of the self-righteous Pharisees, these shepherdless classes were regarded as little more than social refuse.

The tendency was also exceedingly strong in contemporary Jewish life to attribute undue importance to wealth. Such a broad-minded teacher as Ben Sira had declared that only the man of means was in a position to become a learned scribe

(Ben S. 38^{24-33}). Even among the Pharisaic leaders of the nation there was a mercenary spirit which blunted their social consciousness. Among the common people there was a greed for wealth which sadly distorted their appreciation of social values. Above all, there was in all classes a pathetic lack of a developed social consciousness. Self-seeking individualism was rampant. Even the most progressive religious teachers held up eternal life and the assurance of individual blessedness in the future as the chief incentives for right doing and the ultimate goal for which to strive.

The Jewish race lacked social integration and organisation. The Palestine of Jesus' day contained many different races and classes, each full of bitter hatred and contending with the others for what it regarded as its rights. This pitiable condition was due to the fact that there was no worthy and clearly defined social ideal to arouse the enthusiasm and effort of each individual and to bind all men together in united service. These were the crying social needs that influenced Jesus to become a social teacher and leader. Simply and directly he addressed himself to them. At the same time he sought to effect not merely passing reforms but to remove the causes that lay at the root of these social evils.

The Experiential Basis of Jesus' Social Teachings. John Mark assures us that Jesus "spoke with authority and not as the scribes." It is evident that the basis of this authority, which made his teachings convincing and satisfying, was not merely the authority of the past, although no one was more ready than he to acknowledge the debt that he owed to his predecessors. He plainly stated that he came "not to destroy but to fulfil the law and the prophets." The content of his teachings amply confirms this statement. It is clear that he used the word "fulfil" not in the sense of carrying out a prescribed personal programme, but rather in bringing to complete and perfect expression and application those eternal principles which underlie the teachings of earlier prophets, priests, and sages. These teachings were the foundations upon which Jesus based his social philosophy. At the same time he did not

hesitate to depart from them when they were an imperfect expression of truth. "They say to you . . . but I say to you" recurs repeatedly in the fifth chapter of Matthew.

The element in Jesus' teachings, however, which compelled the ready assent of his hearers was the ringing note of conviction based on personal experience. It is the only explanation of why his words, when understood, have arrested the attention of all later ages and races. Every social principle which he set forth had been thoroughly tested by him. Indeed, rich and varied was the social world in which he lived and worked. Palestine, with its mingled races and civilisations and contending ideals, was an epitome of the larger Roman Empire. Preeminently in Capernaum, the commercial metropolis of Galilee, the eddying currents of Jewish and Roman life met and mingled. The upland village of Nazareth, in which the life of the community was an open book, offered a rare field for the study of the social forces which upbuild or destroy manhood and womanhood. The home of Joseph and Mary, teeming with sons and daughters, each with his varying interests and conflicting ambitions, fully represented the primary social unit. Not merely as a keen, sympathetic observer, but through personal knowledge, Jesus learned the invincible power of meekness, of the forgiving spirit, and the transcendent joy of working wholeheartedly for the common good. In the home and in the community he tested out the great principle which he has embodied in the most striking and comprehensive of all his beatitudes:

> Oh the happiness of the peacemakers!
> For they shall be called the children of God.

Jesus evidently used here the old Semitic word which means not merely peace, but also prosperity, well-being, harmony, and completeness. Those to whom he referred are the harmony-makers who are tirelessly working for the well-being and the largest and finest development of themselves, of their fellow men, of the family, and of the larger social groups. No other words in the gospels better describe Jesus' attitude toward

society. It is significant that he himself characterises these workers for social harmony and completeness as the children of God. This saying reveals his conception of God as the supreme Harmony-maker.

Jesus' Conception of the Relation of Religion to Social Service. In all his activity and teaching the two dominating ideas in the mind of Jesus were the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. In the beatitude just quoted he declares that those who are faithfully and whole-heartedly working for the peace and welfare of society are in the truest sense children of God. On one occasion it was reported that a man who was not an avowed follower was casting out demons in his name. Jesus at once improved this opportunity to assert the broad principle (Mk. 9^{40}):

> He who is not against us is for us.

In his own experience he knew that the only motive power that would constantly impel men to serve their fellow men, even in the face of misunderstanding and opposition and persecution, was the love of God and zeal to realise his fatherly purpose in the lives of his children.

On the other hand, it was to him inconceivable that any one could be a true child of God and not be at the same time a peacemaker, ever striving to establish harmony and well-being in the social order. It was his own love and loyalty to his divine Father that made him an indefatigable social worker. He taught that complete love and loyalty to God cannot be dissevered from complete love and loyalty to man. Hence he made faithful social service the supreme test of loyalty to him and to his cause (Mt. 25^{34-40}):

> Then the King will say to those on his right: 'Come, you whom my Father hath blessed. Receive your inheritance prepared for you from the founding of the world.
>
> For I was hungry and you fed me,
> I was thirsty and you gave me drink,

I was a stranger and you welcomed me,
I was without clothes and you clothed me,
I was sick and you looked after me,
I was in prison and you visited me.'

Then the righteous will answer:

'Lord, when did we see you hungry and fed you?
Or thirsty and gave you drink?
When did we see you a stranger and welcomed you?
Or without clothing and clothed you?
When did we see you sick or in prison and visited you?'

The King will answer them, 'Verily, I tell you, inasmuch as you did it to the least of these my brothers you did it to me.'

XVII

JESUS' AIMS AND METHODS AS A SOCIAL TEACHER

Jesus' Consciousness of a Social Mission. The gospel narratives, though incomplete, indicate that from the time that Jesus left his home he was impelled by a social aim and plan. It is also equally clear that these were determined primarily by the social needs of his race and day. During the thirty years spent at Nazareth and in Galilee he had carefully analysed these needs. Contemporary Judaism was prolific in social programmes. The Sadducees, for example, maintained that the Jews should submit to the rule of Rome and thus preserve as far as possible their inherited social order. The Pharisees, on the other hand, chafed under the imperial rule and encouraged the people to look for the appearance of a messiah who would break the hated Roman yoke and establish an independent Jewish state, like that over which David and Josiah had ruled, and in which the inherited Jewish ideals of justice and equality might be realised. The Zealots were eager and ready to inaugurate this new social order by resort to the sword. The Essenes, on the other hand, regarded the existing social order as hopelessly corrupt. Hence they encouraged men to turn their backs upon it, and by living the ascetic life, by strict adherence to the ritual, and by acts of social service, to build up in certain favoured groups a communal life in which the principles of brotherhood and mutual service should prevail.

Jesus apparently accepted none of these conflicting programmes. That he had, however, a comprehensive social aim and plan is revealed by the dramatic account of his temptations with which the record of his public ministry opens. It indicates that he was keenly aware of a call to a great social

work. The temptations arose in connection with the question of what methods he should employ in carrying out this work. The majority of the people of his day were eager to rally about a messiah who would demonstrate by miraculous signs his divine right to lead. Still more insidious was the temptation to resort to compromise. The Pharisees were the acknowledged religious leaders of the people. Should he overlook their mercenary spirit and their undue emphasis on ceremonial in order to secure that powerful following which, during the earlier part of his ministry, they were almost ready to give him? The political influence of the Sadducean high priests was potent both with Roman and Jew. Should he, in order not to arouse their powerful opposition, silently overlook their selfish opportunism and their grafting practices? It was the ever-recurring problem of whether or not a worthy end justifies unworthy means. The greater and more vital the end, the greater the temptation. Knowing, as Jesus did, the bold ambitions that were stirring in the hearts of his countrymen, we can appreciate how real and intense were the temptations which confronted him, not merely at the beginning, but repeatedly throughout his public ministry.

Why Jesus Went to Capernaum. It is probable that the details of Jesus' social aim and plan gradually crystallised in his mind. There are even suggestions that these were not fully complete until late in his public ministry. In any case, it is clear in the light of the oldest records that he was following no preordained social programme. Rather, he was aiming to meet in a way that would be complete and final the universal social needs which were exemplified in the society of his day. It is also evident that he carefully studied the best place and method of realising concretely his social plan. There are indications in the gospel narrative that he first attempted to establish his work in Judea and to build directly upon the social foundations already laid by John the Baptist. This field, however, proved barren, or else the opposition too strong. Early in his public ministry he went to Capernaum. In this great commercial centre, with its teeming suburbs—Bethsaida and Chorazin—he was in a very different environment from that in which he had

grown up. Only a compelling reason would have influenced him to choose this greater Capernaum and make it, as he did henceforth, the chief centre of his activity. That reason is suggested in his direct teachings as well as by the character of his work there. Capernaum was the densest centre of Jewish population in all Galilee. Within this strongly commercial city, beside which ran the great artery of trade that extended from Egypt to Babylonia, were crowded as in no other city of Palestine "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Stated in modern terms, it was the great slum centre of Palestine, and Jesus went there to establish what may be described in certain of its aspects as a social settlement work.

Capernaum was also a centre from which great highways radiated to all parts of Palestine and Syria. A social leaven planted there would inevitably spread rapidly and widely in all directions. Capernaum was the centre of that broad field which appealed powerfully to Jesus, not only because of its crying needs, but also because here he could demonstrate under the most rigorous yet representative conditions the social principles which he wished to establish. These reasons alone explain why the peasant from an upland village in Galilee broke completely with his familiar environment and plunged into the heart of a great city and made it the chief scene of his brief but intensely strenuous public activity.

Jesus' Work at Capernaum. As a public preacher Jesus followed the traditions of the prophets; as a teacher, those of the Jewish sages and rabbis. But he did not trust simply to preaching and teaching: he believed thoroughly in practical demonstration. This fact is the key to an understanding of his work at Capernaum. Certain of his methods shocked the religious leaders of his race. He mingled freely with all classes. He accepted with equal alacrity invitations to dine whether given by learned Pharisees or despised tax collectors. Even the fallen women of the streets were not beyond the pale of his sympathy. The scribes and Pharisees flung at him the contemptuous charge that he was the friend of drunkards and social outcasts. These startling facts further reveal his aim

and his method. He was eagerly seeking by all legitimate means to establish close and intimate points of contact with all classes in the community. Whenever he could perform a service for one of them, he quickly embraced the opportunity. Capernaum, to which many of the worst dregs of humanity had gravitated, was rich in such opportunities. Its malarious climate has always been productive of physical disorders. The social evils which flourished there multiplied the numbers of those who needed physical, mental, and moral healing. As far as his time permitted, Jesus responded to their appeals. It is evident, however, that he regarded his acts of mental and physical healing as simply means to an end. On the one hand, they relieved the poor victims of these ills from the fatal handicaps which debarred them from wholesome social thinking and living. On the other hand, his services to them won their gratitude and confidence and established the closest possible points of contact.

In ancient Capernaum, as in every centre of population today, there was an intense hunger for neighbourliness. This hunger Jesus satisfied. But he did not stop there. He endeavoured by instruction, by friendship, and by example to teach them the fundamental principles of living and, above all, to create in the mind of each that spirit of fellowship and of loyalty to God which was the inspiration of all that he was and did. Sometimes in public, more often in private as they engaged in their daily tasks, he discussed with them these great questions of faith and life. Thus he touched men on every side and in the most intimate and practical ways.

The Classes to Which Jesus Appealed. Jesus openly declared that the men which appealed strongest to his sympathies were those who were ceremonially and morally beyond the pale of Pharisaic teaching. Not only in popular parlance, but in fact, they were "lost." Most of them were social outcasts; many of them because of their crimes and manner of living were probably debarred from the synagogues. In a more fundamental sense they were lost because they had no true conception of God or of his fatherly interest in men. There was no one to tell

them of the way of repentance which alone leads to fellowship with him. No worthy ideals or aspirations held them true in the hour of temptation and guided them in the way of noble endeavour. As a result, life had for them no real joy or inspiration or hope.

In all this human flotsam and jetsam Jesus saw divine possibilities, if he could but win their confidence and command their wills. He by no means confined his attention, however, to this class alone. It was a strangely varied group which he gathered about him. In the ranks of his immediate followers were found not only tax collectors and women of the streets, but self-respecting, industrious working men, like Peter and Andrew the fishermen, well-to-do citizens of Capernaum, like the sons of Zebedee, capable business men like Judas Iscariot, fiery patriots like Simon the Zealot, and even members of Herod's royal court (Lk. 8^{3}). To women and children as well as men Jesus strongly appealed. No age or class was outside the broad circle of his sympathies.

Reasons Why Jesus' Social Appeal Was to the Individual. One striking characteristic distinguishes his method as a social teacher from that of the prophets. They appealed primarily to the nation or to classes within the nation. Jesus also in rare instances addressed the nation, or classes like the scribes and Pharisees; but his chief work was done not with the mass, but with the individual. In this respect he adopted the methods of the Jewish wise men, with whom he had much in common. In one of his familiar utterances he aligns himself with this noble group of social teachers. He even described his teachings by a technical term which otherwise was used only by the wise (Mt. 11^{19}):

> Wisdom is vindicated by her deeds.

He appealed to the individual, however, rather than to the mass, not because he followed the wise, but because he realised that only by training citizens, who were governed by the right social ideals, could he lay the foundations for a perfect and stable social order. Hence his first aim was to socialise the

individuals with whom he came into personal contact. He trusted in men rather than in institutions. He spent all his time and effort in the endeavour to implant his social ideals in the breasts of certain definite men and women, and then left them to determine the exact methods and agencies by which these ideals were to be realised. History amply demonstrates the eminent wisdom of his method.

Jesus' Way of Saving Men. The word salvation has had a different meaning in every age. The definition which has come down to us as a heritage largely from the Greek and Roman church fathers places the chief emphasis on religious belief. Jesus, in his conception of salvation, however, evidently regarded belief simply as a preliminary to salvation. Repentance was even more important, for it cleared away the obstructions raised by past misdeeds and opened the way for constructive action. The essential element in salvation, according to Jesus, was a right social attitude, not only toward God but toward one's fellow men and toward organised society.

Luke 19[1-10] contains the one clear, vivid illustration, not only of what Jesus meant by salvation, but also of the way in which he saved the "lost." It is the familiar story of Zaccheus, the rich, corrupt, despised tax collector of Jericho:

> And Jesus entered and was passing through Jericho, and there was a man by the name of Zaccheus, and he was the head of the tax collectors and was rich, and he tried to see who Jesus was, but could not for the crowd, because he was short in stature. So he ran on ahead and climbed up into a sycamore tree to see Jesus, for he was to pass that way. And when Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and said to him, 'Zaccheus, come down, for to-day I must stay at your house.' Then Zaccheus made haste to come down and received him with joy. But on seeing it every one began to complain, saying, 'He has gone in to eat with a man who is a sinner.'

Evidently Jesus, with that rare psychological insight which characterises all his teaching and work, recognised that the only door which led to the heart of this man was that of hospitality.

Therefore he entered that door and became his guest. There is no evidence in the narrative that Jesus spoke to Zaccheus privately. Apparently the friendship of the Master prepared the way, and personal contact with him whose character and social ideals were in such striking contrast to his own revealed to Zaccheus his moral poverty and completed his social and spiritual regeneration.

The narrative makes it clear that the essence of Zaccheus's conversion was the sudden transformation in his attitude toward society. Up to this moment in his life he had simply amassed wealth for himself by misusing his public office to extract money from the helpless in the community. In other words, his attitude was thoroughly unsocial. Now in the presence of Jesus, and apparently in part to protect the Master from popular attack, he made a declaration which revealed the inner transformation:

> Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor, and, if I have taken anything from any man wrongfully, I will give it back four-fold.

Equally significant is Jesus' enthusiastic declaration:

> To-day has salvation come to this house!

In this connection he adds a statement of the dominant aim which actuated him in all his work:

> For the Son of Man came to seek and to save that which has been lost.

Nowhere in the gospels do we have such a clear-cut definition of what he meant by "saving the lost." It was not sufficient to convince their reason, so that they accepted certain theological doctrines, or to appeal to their emotions, so that they became conscious of their sins: their whole attitude toward society must be transformed, so that henceforth their every act was to be governed by their awakened social consciousness.

The Brotherhood Which Jesus Built Up at Capernaum. The gospel records, as well as those found in Acts, indicate that Jesus did not content himself merely with the personal appeal. His aim in going to Capernaum was clearly to establish there a typical community which would be a concrete illustration of the social principles which he taught. The twelve friends whom he asked to leave their daily tasks and join hands with him in fishing for men constituted the nucleus of this fraternal community. They were not chosen indiscriminately, but because of their personal ability and because they were typical of the different classes in the greater Capernaum. Jesus was fully aware of the magnitude of the task which he was undertaking. Of those whom he called to join with him in the work of building up this fraternal community, he demanded absolute loyalty and a complete conquest of their selfish impulses (Lk. 14^{25-33}):

> Now large crowds were journeying along with him. And he turned and said to them, 'If any one comes to me and hates not his father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. And he who does not carry his own cross and come after me cannot be my disciple. For which of you, wishing to build a tower, does not first sit down and count the cost, to see if he has money to complete it? Lest after he has laid the foundation and has not the means to finish, all those looking on begin to mock him, saying, "This man began to build, but was not able to finish." Or what king, on going to war with another king, will not first sit down and take counsel whether he is able with ten thousand men to meet him who is coming against him with twenty thousand? And if not, when the other is still far away, he sends an embassy and asks for terms of peace. So then, every one of you who does not renounce all his possessions cannot be my disciple.'

Like every wise ethical teacher, Jesus frequently used hyperbole in driving home truths which otherwise might fall on deaf ears. His use of hyperbole not only calls attention to the importance of the truth which he thus presents, but also his intense personal conviction of its validity. He was eager to re-

ceive any and all into the circle of his associates. "Follow me" was constantly on his lips. But he was equally strenuous in warning away any who might prove deficient in loyalty and steadfastness. Unless this fact be recognised, his words to the bereaved son, "Let the dead bury their own dead," seem cold and heartless. In Luke 9^{62} he plainly states the principle for which he was contending:

> No man who looks back after having put his hand to the plough is fit for the kingdom of God.

He was plainly endeavouring to rally about him a group of men who would prove not blind leaders of the blind, but "finished disciples" who would be like their teacher (Lk. $13^{34, 35}$). To the "finishing" of these foundation-stones of the fraternal community which he was aiming to build Jesus devoted a large part of his time and attention. Not only by friendship and teaching but also by definite practical work he endeavoured to make these disciples perfect even as their Master. This is undoubtedly one of the chief reasons why he sent them out two by two through the villages about Capernaum to preach and to do social work. This purpose also explains the strong enthusiasm with which he greeted the report that their mission had proved successful (Mt. $11^{25, 26}$):

> I praise thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth,
> That thou didst hide these things from the wise and prudent,
> And didst reveal them to babes.
> Yea, Father, for so it pleased thee.

The chief bond which held together the members of this brotherhood was their personal devotion to Jesus; but he ever set loyalty to God in the forefront (Mk. 10^{18}).

Next to loyalty to God he placed loyalty to the fraternal community as the commanding motive in their life and work together. To their mutual love and friendship was added the joyous consciousness that their loyalty was bearing fruit. In view of the brevity of Jesus' Galilean ministry, it is clear that

the numbers of his followers must have increased with marvellous rapidity. Paul, the oldest New Testament writer, states in I Corinthians 15[5] that five hundred were gathered together soon after Jesus' death. This remarkable growth in the face of growing opposition and the distracting fear of persecution is the strongest possible testimony to the drawing power of the social ideals which Jesus held up before the men and women of Capernaum, and to his supreme ability as a social leader and organiser.

The Breadth of Jesus' Social Plan. Jesus' pathetic words, as he finally left the greater Capernaum to avoid the bitter attacks of the Pharisees and to escape the clutches of Herod Antipas, reveal clearly the hope and purpose with which he had gone to this great metropolis (Mt. 11[20-24]):

> Then he began to reproach the cities in which most of his mighty deeds had been performed because they did not repent: 'Woe to thee, Chorazin! Woe to thee, Bethsaida! for had the mighty deeds that have been performed in thee been performed in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. Yet I tell you, Tyre and Sidon shall find it more bearable on the day of judgment than you. And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted to the sky? Thou shalt go down to Hades! For had the mighty deeds performed in thee been performed in Sodom, it would have remained until this day. Yet I tell thee the land of Sodom shall find it more bearable on the day of judgment than thou.'

The vivid narrative of Mark indicates that Jesus' early public work in Galilee was characterised by a buoyant optimism. As he said, he came to bring life, and it was difficult to believe that men loved darkness more than light. It was with surprise as well as with superlative sadness that he saw the multitudes in time fade away, and felt instead the treacherous toils of Herod Antipas tightening about him, even as they had about the valiant John the Baptist, while the deadly leaven of the Pharisees threatened to penetrate even the ranks of his chosen disciples. His tragic words addressed to Capernaum and its

suburbs indicate clearly that he had hoped not merely to save a few, but to touch and transform the heart of this community. In this large and representative centre of population he laboured to establish a great fraternity which would concretely illustrate the social principles which he proclaimed. In other words, Jesus hoped that the fraternal community which he founded would grow until it embraced the entire civic community. The figure ("repent in sackcloth and ashes") which he employed in his address to Chorazin and Bethsaida was drawn from the vivid description in the book of Jonah of the complete repentance of the ancient city of Nineveh. It is also significant that in the lament just quoted Jesus departed from his usual custom and addressed not individuals but cities. As he analysed the situation in the light of experience, he asserted that his plan of transforming and socialising these communities was not impracticable. It had been only in part realised simply because they had failed to respond to his teachings and to the supreme opportunity which had been held out to them.

From occasional references in the gospels it is evident that the Second Isaiah's marvellous picture of the servant of Jehovah, who voluntarily and joyously gave himself to the service of humanity, made a profound impression upon Jesus. He evidently regarded it not as a messianic programme to be carried out in detail, but as the dramatic statement of an ultimate social principle. Its influence upon his thought appears to have been especially strong during his period of retirement after the close of his Galilean ministry, when he was weighing the wisdom of going up to Jerusalem. He finally decided to face death there in order to hold up his teachings vividly and dramatically before his nation in the hope that it might at last appreciate and accept them. He also went up to Jerusalem in order to transfer to the capital city itself the fraternal community which he had built up at Capernaum.

As Jesus set out on his last heroic journey to Jerusalem we are told that (Lk. 13^{31-34})

> At that very hour certain Pharisees came and said to him, 'Go forth, leave this place, for Herod wishes to kill you.' But he

said to them, 'Go and tell that fox, "Behold, I cast out demons and perform miracles to-day and to-morrow, and on the third day I am finished! But to-day and to-morrow and on the following day I must go on my way, for it cannot be that a prophet perish outside Jerusalem!"

Oh, Jerusalem, Jerusalem! that kills the prophets
And that stones those who are sent to her!
How often would I have gathered thy children together,
Even as a fowl her brood under her wing, and you would not!'

These tragic words indicate that Jesus had longed to see a far different outcome of his work. He had ardently hoped that his nation (which is here concretely represented by its capital city, Jerusalem) would not repeat the mistakes and crimes of the past, but would give ready ear to his teachings. He trusted that he would be able to gather together the diverse elements of his race, even as a bird her brood, and to establish with Jerusalem as its centre a happy, harmonious community that would live together under his paternal direction as one great family. That Jesus himself impressed his social plan on the minds of his immediate followers in this comprehensive form is the only satisfactory explanation of the fact that almost immediately after his death scores if not hundreds of them left their Galilean homes and went up to the Jerusalem which had slain their Master, and founded there, in the face of poverty and bitter persecution, a fraternal community which survived until the capital city itself was left by Titus a mass of smoking ruins.

XVIII

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN

Jesus' Estimate of the Value of Personality. The foundation of Jesus' social teachings is his profound estimate of the value of personality. He regarded every individual not as a mere automaton, nor simply as a member of a class, but as a person. It made no difference to him whether the individual was a learned Pharisee, a high priest, a humble peasant, a despised tax collector, or an adulteress. He treated each with that superlative chivalry which was the one great redeeming quality of mediæval Christianity. In him women and children found their best friend and champion. His words to those who were inclined to despise their humble or less gifted fellow men reveal his own attitude (Mt. 18^{10}):

> See that you do not despise one of these little ones;
> For I tell you that their angels in heaven look ever on the face of my Father who is in heaven.

In emphasising personality Jesus avoided two dangerous extremes: the one is that of selfish individualism, which impels a man to regard the whole world simply as a great field to be reaped for his own benefit. Jesus pointed out the utter folly and fallacy of this philosophy of life in his paradoxical teaching (Mt. 16^{25}):

> He who finds his life shall lose it,
> And he who loses his life for my sake shall find it.

He clearly saw and taught that equally fallacious was the opposite extreme of regarding men only as impersonal units to be herded together or exploited or sacrificed at the whim of

a political or industrial tyrant. At the basis of his estimate of the importance of personality was the knowledge that each man was a son of God. His own close fellowship with his heavenly Father led him to look upon every man as his brother, and to regard him with the same loving interest that God himself feels in his children. Viewed through the eyes of love, the faults and sins of men could not conceal from him their essential personality and potentiality. Jesus, however, was by no means blind to the blighting effect of ignorance and sin. In his thought they were the only real evils in all the universe.

It is also clear that he did not devote his attention to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" simply because they were weak and sinful. No teacher in human history ever held up with greater insistence the pragmatic standard of values. "By their fruits you shall know them" was the test to which he submitted every life. Christianity during its varied history has sometimes made the mistake of fostering weakness and inefficiency, even at the expense of the strong and able, but it has never done so on the authority of Jesus. He went to the weak and sinful because he saw in them divine potentialities. What is more, he developed these potentialities. The sick he made strong; the demoniacs, under the influence of his faith-inspiring personality, recovered their reason and again took up their tasks as efficient members of society; the grafting Zaccheus was transformed into a public benefactor; the adulteress was allowed to go forth to redeem her virtue by honest living. Profoundly true is the declaration of the Fourth Gospel that his supreme aim was that men might have life, and that in abundant measure.

Jesus' Doctrine of Social Individualism. With the extreme socialistic position, which tends to relieve the individual of his personal responsibilities and to treat men in the mass rather than as distinct personalities, Jesus had no sympathy. The doctrine of man which he set forth conserves all that is significant in both individualism and constructive socialism. It may, indeed, be designated as social individualism. He advocated the largest degree of individual freedom. His whole effort was

to deliver men from the bonds of wrong beliefs, evil habits, baseless fears, and all the unnatural restrictions which conventional religion and organised society had built up around them. Well has the Fourth Gospel voiced his purpose (Jn. 8^{32}):

> You shall know the truth,
> And the truth shall make you free.

No teacher in human history worked more earnestly to secure full liberty for the individual than did he; but none emphasised more strongly man's social responsibilities. He taught that it was impossible for a man to express himself fully except in the service of his fellows. Liberty with him was freedom to serve. That individualism which expresses itself in self-indulgence or license or in selfish exploitation of others means not freedom but bondage for the individual himself as well as for his victims. Man's most valuable right is the right to contribute to the well-being of society. The majority of Jesus' teachings, therefore, are devoted to defining the individual's social responsibilities. Paradoxical though it may seem, he claimed for each man a larger liberty than the most ardent individualist could ask. At the same time, he laid on the individual social responsibilities which make the demands of socialism seem mild indeed.

The Importance of Developing a Complete Personality. It is possible that Jesus' interest in the development of human personality was in part due to the fact that for ten or fifteen years his trade appears to have been that of a master builder. The task of a carpenter in Nazareth was not merely to rear new structures; for the most part it was to repair buildings which had fallen into decay. Even though he may not have approved the unsocial motive, it is probable that he was occasionally called in by the rich villagers of Nazareth to "tear down their barns and build larger." His occupation, therefore, developed interest and skill in the art of reconstruction. The transfer of this interest from material things to men was natural. He aimed to help all with whom he came in contact to attain the largest, fullest self-realisation.

The twelve whom he associated with him most closely were commonplace men whom no one else would have selected as the leaders in a great world movement. He himself called them "babes." Some of them, like Matthew the tax collector, sadly needed moral repair. It was simply as a result of Jesus' fostering influence that they achieved the seemingly impossible. Throughout its history one of the marked characteristics of the Christian religion has been its power so to develop and transform the weak ones of earth that they have often been able "to confound the wise." Sometimes the results seem miraculous, but when the ultimate facts are known it is evident that what Christian faith has done is simply to develop the diviner possibilities latent in every man. In bringing out these possibilities Jesus knew well the value of confidence and sympathy. He genuinely believed in men, and that belief made them loyal. The wisdom of his method is well proven by the fact that even in the hour of disappointment and seeming failure only one of his disciples proved faithless.

The Fundamental Importance of Socialised Thinking and Feeling. In his effort to develop social citizens Jesus laid the chief emphasis on the importance of right thinking and feeling. In so doing he brought to complete fulfilment certain tendencies inherited from the earlier teachers of his race. The last command of the prophetic decalogue, "Thou shalt not covet," transferred the emphasis from the external act to the realm of feeling. Jesus defined all of man's social responsibilities in terms of individual thought and motive. He also taught convincingly that the roots of abiding social reform are ethical. In thus grounding his social teachings in individual ethics and in emphasising right personal thinking and feeling as the first essential to right social living, he anticipated the most important scientific conclusions of modern psychology and sociology. "As a man thinks, so is he," was a succinct statement of this fundamental principle. To this he added, in practice at least, the equally comprehensive principle: as are the individuals who compose society, so is that society itself.

In transferring the emphasis from acts to motives Jesus

broke definitely with the older lawgivers of his race. This independence is well illustrated in his teachings regarding the supremely unsocial act of murder (Mt. $5^{21, 22}$):

> You have heard that it was said by the men of old, 'Thou shalt not kill, and whoever kills shall be liable to the local court.' But I say to you,
>
> 'Every one who is angry with his brother shall be liable to the local court;
> And whoever says to his brother, "Ignoramus!" shall be liable to the Sanhedrin.
> And whoever says to his brother, "Fool!" shall be liable to the Gehenna of fire.'

Again Jesus emphasises the importance of the principle by the use of hyperbole. Human laws are able to deal only with definite acts; but to make clear his point Jesus declared that the individual who even for a moment cherishes in his heart the unsocial impulse of anger toward his brother is committing a crime which at least deserves to be punished by the public courts. If he goes so far as to intensify that feeling by giving expression to it by the use of such a mild word as "stupid" or "ignoramus," he is in reality committing a capital crime which deserves to be brought before the supreme tribunal of his nation. If he intensifies this unsocial feeling by giving utterance to it through the bitter, contemptuous word "fool," he is committing a crime which can be properly punished only by the divine tribunal. By these rigorous means the great social Teacher sought to check at their source the malign impulses which destroy the peace and welfare of society as well as the happiness and social efficiency of the individual. With true psychological insight he recognised that external expression adds fuel to the flame of anger, and that the only way to extinguish it is to suppress it at the very beginning.

The Ultimate Motive That Prompts Social Thinking and Feeling. In his analysis of the causes of crime, Jesus was evidently guided by his lofty estimate of the value of person-

ality. In the case of that most heinous of crimes, adultery, he also dealt simply with the motive which prompted it (Mt. $5^{27, 28}$):

> You have heard that it was said, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' but I say unto you, 'Every man who looks at a woman lustfully has committed adultery with her already in his heart.'

Again, he taught that it is easier to check a conflagration at the beginning than after it has gained headway. It is the lustful feeling that leads to adultery. To entertain this feeling, even for a moment, is in itself a crime, for it not only lures the individual on to commit the most unsocial of acts, but it tends to destroy all reverence for the personality of the one thus regarded. If, on the other hand, the lustful feeling is immediately checked, adultery is impossible. The only sure deterrent of this feeling is not the fear of personal consequences, but a true regard for the personality of the one whom the passion, if indulged, would fatally injure. Thus Jesus' exalted yet true estimate of the personality of each individual, however fallen he or she may be, transforms his followers into valiant protectors and saviours even of the "lost sheep" of the human family.

The Fundamental Social Virtues: Sincerity. Jesus has given a composite yet vivid portrait of the essential characteristics of the truly social citizen. The foundation is absolute truthfulness and sincerity. Evidently Jesus had this quality in mind when he gave the broad command (Mt. 5^{37}):

> Let what you say be 'Yes' for 'Yes,' or 'No' for 'No';
> Whatever exceeds that is from the evil one.

The deep-seated Oriental custom of supporting a statement by elaborate oaths found no favour with Jesus. He recognised that truth is beclouded by these childish devices. The simple word of the Christian citizen means far more than a multiplicity of oaths. Back of this teaching lies Jesus' ideal of absolute sincerity, which he in his own spirit and character peerlessly il-

lustrates. Humanity is only just beginning to appreciate the transcendent importance and social significance of this primary quality of truthfulness. Any society composed of citizens who habitually or deliberately pervert the truth is built on the shifting sands.

Charitable Judgment. Jesus went deep into the analysis of the evils which dismember society. Chief among these are the class and national hatreds due to ignorance, unjust suspicion, or hasty incrimination. Hence he sought to check these unsocial crimes at their fountain-source. He did not for a moment deny the importance of making sound estimates of our fellow men. Such judgments are necessary before we can offer to "pull the splinters" out of their eyes. He dealt rather with the motives which should govern us in forming judgments. He was trying to free men from the tendency, which they inherit from their childhood, of harshly condemning others for practices which they readily overlook or condone in themselves. Above all, he was endeavouring to transform the censorious attitude into one of brotherly helpfulness (Mt. 7^{1-5}):

> Judge not,
> That you may not be judged;
> For with what judgment you judge,
> You shall be judged,
> And with what measure you measure,
> It shall be measured to you.
> Why look at the splinter in your brother's eye,
> And consider not the beam in your own eye?
> Or how will you say to your brother,
> 'Come, let me pull the splinter out of your eye,'
> When behold the beam is in your own eye?
> Hypocrite! first pull the beam out of your own eye;
> Then you shall see clearly to pull the splinter out of your brother's eye.

Helpful, constructive criticism is a noble social virtue, for it is the fruit of sincerity, good judgment, and good will.

Forgiveness. The most rampant and perilous social crime in Jesus' day was hate. Party hatred had dismembered the old

Maccabean kingdom and brought the Jews under the galling Roman rule. Hatred of Rome had led to repeated and disastrous rebellions. As the event proved, that same hatred was soon destined to destroy the Jewish state and send the Jews forth anew a race without a country. It is not strange, therefore, that Jesus repeatedly and dramatically emphasised the virtue of forgiveness. As a social psychologist he also knew how completely hate paralyses the social efficiency of the individual and disrupts and destroys society. In the great prayer which he gave his disciples he taught them to say (Lk. 11[4]):

> 'Forgive us our debts; for we also forgive each one who is indebted to us.'

Jesus asserted in many different ways that each man is his brother's keeper. He combated hate by arousing the spirit of brotherly helpfulness. To the supreme social obligation to forgive he would admit no limit (Mt. 18[15], Lk. 17[4], Mt. 18[21, 22]):

> Now if your brother sin,
> Go show him his fault between yourself and him alone;
> If he listen to you, you have won over your brother.
> And if he sin against you seven times in the day,
> And turns back to you seven times, saying, 'I repent,'
> You shall forgive him.

> Then Peter came and said to him, 'Lord, how often is my brother to sin against me and I am to forgive him, up to seven times?' Jesus said to him, 'I say not to you, Up to seven times, but up to seventy times seven.'

Jesus evidently placed this extreme emphasis on forgiveness because he recognised that it was a positive force in conquering evil. He was not only seeking to save the angry man from his passion but also to teach him how to win his brother.

Love for Enemies. The old law of Leviticus 19[18] had taught, "Love your neighbour." Deuteronomy had added the foreigners who had made their permanent home in Israel to this favoured circle. Ben Sira enlarged this social group when he

taught, "Love your servant." It remained, however, for Jesus to complete the circle by adding the sweeping command, "Love your enemies" (Mt. 5^{43-47}):

> You have heard that it was said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy.' But I tell you:
>
> 'Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you,
> That you may become sons of your Father who is in heaven;
> For he maketh his sun rise upon evil and good,
> And sendeth rain upon just and unjust.'
> For if you love those who love you, what reward have you?
> Do not even the tax collectors do the same?
> And if you salute your brothers only, what are you doing beyond others?
> Do not even the Gentiles do the same?

In the social order which Jesus endeavoured to establish there was absolutely no place for hate, even toward enemies; for he realised that hate is not only unsocial, but that it destroys the peace of mind and weakens the strength of the one who cherishes it. His words indicate that he knew that to love enemies and pray for persecutors was one of the chief tests of those who are striving to be in every sense sons of the divine Father. The motive which alone makes this attitude possible is gratitude and loyalty to God on the one hand, and on the other a clear recognition of the fact that hate destroys one's ability to serve society. In the great human family which Jesus was endeavouring to reorganise, good will must reign supreme if his ideal is to be attained. He held up no mediating standard. As he in his own experience realised, complete fatherhood demanded complete sonship. The synthesis of all his teachings regarding the Christian citizen is found in his lofty and comprehensive command (Mt. 5^{48}):

> You are to be perfect, then,
> Even as your heavenly Father is perfect.

Love for All Men. Like the earlier Jewish sages, Jesus constantly endeavoured to gather up the fundamental prin-

ciples of life in a brief, condensed statement. The essence of the Old Testament legislation he declared might be summarised in the dual command to love God and to love one's neighbour. He realised that the supreme expression of love to God is the love of and service to one's fellow men. Hence the Golden Rule stands as the briefest and most complete summary of the social teachings of the prophets and Jesus (Mt. 7[12]):

> All things, therefore, that you would have men do to you,
> So do you also to them, for this is the law and the prophets.

This "royal law of love," as it is aptly designated by the author of the epistle of James, is as practically applicable as it is comprehensive. It demands that each Christian citizen shall place the interests of every other man on absolute equality with his own. Theoretically society has long recognised the identity of these interests, but Jesus proposed to make this fact a working basis. True to his ideal of social individualism, he did not ask any man to debase or obliterate his own personality. Instead, he asked him to respect it supremely, but at the same time to regard the personality of every other human being with equal consideration. As a practical working principle in aiding each man to overcome his own abnormal egoism this law has no equal; for in putting himself in the other man's place he inevitably forgets his own selfish impulses, and his will is guided by the new idea which is thus placed in the centre of focus. The first essential, therefore, in the practical application of this royal law of love is a trained imagination which enables the Christian citizen to put himself in the place of the many varied types of men with whom he comes in contact. It calls, also, for impartial justice, as well as genuine love and sympathy. Like all virtues, that of putting oneself in the other man's place can be cultivated until it develops into a habit. The true Christian citizen is he who has so fixed this habit that in all his contacts with foes as well as with friends he responds naturally and unconsciously to the law of love.

The Attitude of Non-Resentment. Jesus' oft-discussed teaching regarding non-resistance is but a dramatic and hyper-

bolic illustration of his law of love. His aim was to free his followers absolutely from the older and still prevalent rule of force, whose motive power was anger or a spirit of revenge (Mt. 5^{38-42}):

> You have heard that it was said, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' But I tell you:
>
> 'Resist not the evil man;
> But whoever smites you on the right cheek,
> Turn to him the other also.
> If any one wishes to sue you for the possession of your coat,
> Let him have your cloak also.
> Whosoever shall force you to go one mile,
> Go two with him.
> Give to him who asks of you,
> And turn not away from him who would borrow of you.'

Tolstoi and certain other modern pacificists have interpreted this passage with a blind literalness which has obscured its real meaning. They have thereby kept many thoughtful men from accepting the leadership of Jesus. Obviously this passage must be interpreted in the light of Jesus' other acts. No one could be more stern than was he in his denunciation of the hypocritical Pharisees and in his open rebuke and attack directed against the grafting high priests. Here, as in all his teachings regarding the social duties of the individual, he was chiefly concerned with a man's personal feeling and attitude. He was endeavouring to substitute for hate the spirit of non-resentment. With true psychological insight he saw that even as the clenched fist begets anger, so the attitude of non-resistance is the most effective factor in developing this spirit of non-resentment. He taught in this hyperbolic way that no matter how great the affront, no wise man can afford for a moment to cherish or give expression to hatred toward his fellow man. Rather he should be eager to do anything for the sake of his brother, even though that brother be an arrant aggressor. When this attitude has been developed in the mind of the Christian who has been wronged the main object of Jesus' teaching has been realised.

The way in which the Christian should deal with his erring brother will now be determined in accordance with the law of love. In dealing with the ignorant or dangerous criminal, not his selfish desire, but the calm, enlightened, sympathetic judgment of the Christian citizen or community must decide what treatment is best for the man who has gone astray. In most cases, as experience has amply demonstrated, non-resistance, prompted by good will, is the most potent agent in disarming aggressive force. No true Christian citizen will hesitate to use it to the uttermost. At the same time he must be loyal to the highest demands of the Golden Rule. If non-resistance will not disarm the unprincipled aggressor, this law may sometimes call for the discipline of force. The resort to force is so instinctive, however, and anger and resentment so often take the place of love and impartial justice, that Jesus showed his preeminent wisdom as a social teacher in placing the emphasis where he did. Clearly his aim in all his teachings on this much-discussed subject was not to thwart justice nor to prejudge any individual case, but to forestall hate by teaching his followers never to cease loving their worst enemies, even though they be the most debased criminals. Only when love is thus enthroned is impartial justice assured.

Jesus' Illustration of Social Citizenship. The majority of Jesus' social teachings were devoted to creating the neighbourly attitude. He gave one classic illustration, however, of the Christian citizen in action. It was precipitated by the question of a certain lawyer who had come to Jesus for a specific prescription that would insure him a title to future blessedness. The young man, like Hillel, whom he probably regarded as his master, already recognised that the fundamental requirement was love to God and one's neighbour. Being a narrow religious aristocrat, who probably heartily despised and hated all Gentiles and Samaritans, he turned upon Jesus with the burning question, "Who is my neighbour?" It is evident that Jesus was keenly alive to the learned lawyer's intellectual and religious limitations. Not only did the man hate a goodly portion of his fellow men, but he, like most of the scribes of his day,

was obsessed with the ceremonial conception of religion. In his thought the priests and the Levites were the most conspicuous examples of piety, and the Samaritans were little better than pagans. Jesus wasted no time in stripping him of his false prepossessions. At the same time he gave him a concrete definition of true religion in action which has no equal in literature (Lk. 10^{30-37}):

> A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and he fell in with robbers, who even stripped him, and after beating him, went off, leaving him half dead. Now it happened that a certain priest was going down by that road; but when he saw him, he went past on the opposite side. And in the same way a Levite, when he came to the place and saw him, went past on the opposite side. But a certain Samaritan, travelling, came to where he was. And on seeing him, he bound up his wounds, pouring on them oil and wine. And putting him on his own beast, he brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the following day he took out two denarii and gave them to the innkeeper, saying, 'Take care of him, and whatever more you spend, I will repay you when I return.' Which of these three do you think proved himself the neighbour to him who fell in with the robbers? He said, 'The man who dealt mercifully with him.' Jesus said to him, 'Go, and do likewise.'

This familiar parable presents its great teachings so plainly that they need little interpretation. In the presence of real human need no racial prejudices can deter the truly social citizen. Petty and absurd seem the ceremonial interpretations of religion (represented by the priest and Levite) in contrast with that love for man which prompts immediate action. The Samaritan gives not merely his money, he gives himself and his own personal possessions, quickly, spontaneously, and wholeheartedly. Like a brother, he puts himself in the other man's place and generously supplies those needs of which the wounded man was scarcely conscious. In rendering help he uses in the most scientific way the resources at his disposal. He gives freely, but not in a way to pauperise the object of his charity. His sympathetic imagination even anticipates the poor man's

future needs, but he gives only what is necessary to set the stricken man on his feet. When he has done this the Samaritan hastens on his way, for he is a busy man and faithful to all his social obligations.

XIX

JESUS' APPRECIATION OF THE SOCIAL VALUES OF RECREATION AND POPULAR AMUSEMENTS

Jesus' Own Enjoyment of Wholesome Recreation. Mediæval thought and art have sadly obscured the real personality of Jesus. Under the influence of this alien ascetic note they have pictured him as pre-eminently a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. To him have been attributed all the characteristics of a mediæval saint. Nothing could be more misleading or pernicious. Jesus was indeed acquainted with sorrow, but it was by no means a dominant note in his active life. When temptation and opposition came to him, he met them heroically and triumphantly. His was the joy of the conqueror and the exhilaration of one who achieves, so that even pain and struggle were to him but the steps that lead to the highest types of happiness. Fortunately in the early Marcan narrative there remain many vivid, first-hand impressions of the personality of him whose message was pre-eminently one of good tidings. Not the least of the charms which drew all men to him were his abounding optimism and his strong human interests.

Chief among the charges which the Pharisees flung at Jesus was that he associated with all classes, and especially during their hours of social recreation. To use an expressive modern term, he was naturally a "good mixer," a man among men. There is no evidence that he ever refused an invitation to a banquet. Undoubtedly he entered this open door that leads directly to the hearts of men because he wished to win them, but he could not have done so with such grace and success had he not thoroughly enjoyed mingling with them and sharing their social joys. Tireless worker that he was, he took genuine

pleasure in all forms of wholesome recreation. No one delighted more than he in the good fellowship of the banquet or wedding-feast at which the spirit of genuine hospitality prevailed. The real Jesus who won the unbounded loyalty of the Galilean peasants and of the varied population of Capernaum was not an emaciated mediæval type of saint but a rugged, stalwart man of the hills, browned by the hot Palestinian suns, and keenly alive to all the beauties of nature and the joys of life.

Jesus' Sense of Humour. The modern age is at last beginning to appreciate fully the humanising and socialising value of humour. No one can read Jesus' teachings with open mind without being impressed by the spontaneous and kindly humour which is constantly bubbling forth. Amusing because grotesquely absurd is the figure of casting priceless pearls before swine, which in antiquity, as to-day, did not have the reputation of being gifted with a highly developed æsthetic appreciation! The picture of the pompous man who took the front seat in the banquet-hall and then was invited to sit lower appeals strongly to the universal sense of humour. The facile way in which Jesus escaped the carefully laid snares of the scribes and Pharisees must have proved a great source of amusement to his disciples and to the people. His flashing wit enabled him to turn upon his assailants the very weapons with which they attacked him.

Equally effective were the striking hyperboles which Jesus constantly employed, as for example, that of an awkward camel, the most ludicrous of beasts, trying to get through the eye of a needle. The vivid portrait of the man with perverted moral vision, who irritated his friends by trying to strain out a tiny gnat but who was ready to swallow a huge camel, appeals to the pity and risibilities of the modern man as well as to Jesus' first-century audience. Equally ludicrous were those who were officiously eager to extract the infinitesimal splinter from the eye of a friend, while their own eye contained a huge beam—the great rafter which supported the roof of an Oriental house. Jesus performed an inestimable service for the sad and sin-stricken Jews in his audiences, for he taught them to laugh to-

gether and to see how ridiculous were the follies that obsessed them.

The Joyous Life of the Capernaum Community. The oldest narratives testify that Jesus' life with his disciples was especially full of joy and good fellowship. This spirit was one of the potent forces which attracted and permanently held his followers. They had no heart for the ceremonies which were usually associated with sorrow and long faces. Jesus himself spoke in defense of their joyousness, even though they were bitterly criticised by the Pharisees because they did not spend time in fasting (Mk. 2^{18-22}):

> And John's disciples and the Pharisees were fasting; and they came and said to him, 'Why do the disciples of John and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, but your disciples fast not?' And Jesus said to them, 'Can bridal guests fast while the bridegroom is with them? As long as they have the bridegroom with them they cannot fast. But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then will they fast in that day. No one sews a piece of unshrunken cloth on an old garment, lest the piece tear away from it, the new from the old, and a worse tear is made. And no man puts new wine into old wine skins; else the wine will burst the skins, and both the wine and the wine skins be destroyed. Instead one puts new wine into fresh wine skins.'

Thus Jesus likened his life with his disciples to a wedding-feast. To appreciate the strength of this figure it is important to remember that a wedding was by far the most joyous social function in Jewish life. He declared that as long as he remained with his disciples this spirit of jubilant good fellowship would prevail—in fact that anything else was impossible. He also described their communal life as "new wine" in contrast to the rather sombre, exacting, punctilious life which Judaism imposed upon its followers. It is clear that the men and women who joined the fraternal community at Capernaum did so not under the sense of stern compulsion but because they found it irresistibly attractive.

Jesus' Commendation of All Forms of Wholesome Amusement. It is a significant fact that banquets and social functions figure largely in the parables with which Jesus illustrated his most important teachings. Even the parable of the Prodigal Son ends with a great banquet to which the father summons all his friends to make merry with him. Clearly one of the chief ingredients which the "new wine" brought to his race was this spirit of wholesome recreation. Contemporary Judaism was bitterly opposed to most forms of popular amusement and especially to those which brought delight to the Græco-Roman world. In contrast to the rabbis, Jesus apparently uttered no word of protest against the sports of the stadium and amphitheatre, which even in Jerusalem itself rivalled the attractions of the Jewish temple. The silence of the gospel narratives is not of course in itself decisive, but Paul's many references to them are richly suggestive, and indicate that Jesus' greatest follower found in these sports much innocent delight. Everything which tended in a wholesome way to enlarge life and to develop personality also received his approval, even though it may have been condemned by the religious leaders of his race.

Jesus' words and acts indicate that he was aware of the importance of play in enlarging and developing the life of the individual. This appreciation best explains the irresistible way in which children were drawn to him. His interest in their amusements is well illustrated by that vivid picture of the children playing their games in the streets which he used in describing the fickleness of his contemporaries (Mt. 11^{16-19}):

> To what shall I compare this generation? It is like children sitting in the market places, who call their playmates and say, 'We piped to you but you did not dance. We lamented but you did not beat your breast.' For John came neither eating nor drinking and men say, 'He has a demon.' The Son of Man came eating and drinking and men say, 'Here is a glutton and a wine-drinker, a friend of tax collectors and sinners!'

Only one who had watched with kindly interest children at play and had as a boy himself participated in their sports

would use this homely illustration in discussing the vital question at issue. If we had a complete record of Jesus' teachings and life, many similar illustrations would undoubtedly be at hand to demonstrate his keen interest in all forms of harmless recreation and amusement.

Jesus' Condemnation of the So-Called Amusements That Are Harmful. As a rule Jesus emphasised that which was good, and trusted that men who accepted his philosophy of living would instinctively reject the evil. In his day most forms of popular amusement were under state direction. Then the vast hordes of commercialised popular amusements, which to-day are taking not only the money but the time and in many cases the moral purity of the multitude, were not so highly organised. But the tendency to prey on the innate human fondness for play and amusement was evident even in that ancient life. Therefore, to those who simply for commercial reasons exploit and pervert this natural instinct, and to those who through neglect permit these great wrongs to exist, the principle underlying Jesus' words of warning applies even more forcibly to-day than in the first Christian century (Lk. 17[1, 2]):

> It is inevitable that temptations should come,
> But woe to him through whom they come!
> It were better for him that a millstone were fastened about his neck,
> And he were thrown into the sea,
> Than that he should be a source of temptation to any of these little ones.

In combating the temptations presented by vicious amusements Jesus staked his faith pre-eminently on the individual. In the ultimate analysis, their power to injure a man depends entirely upon his personal attitude and choice. Jesus' appreciation of the importance of choosing the good and rejecting the evil is indicated by the dramatic form in which he expressed this teaching (Mk. 9[43-47]):

> Should your hand cause you to stumble, cut it off. It is better for you to enter life maimed than for you with your two hands to

> go away into Gehenna into the unquenchable fire. And should your foot cause you to stumble, cut it off. It is better for you to enter life lame than with your two feet to be cast into Gehenna. And should your eye cause you to stumble, cast it out. It is better for you to enter the kingdom of God with one eye than with two eyes to be thrown into Gehenna.

The logic is irrefutable. Men do not hesitate to resort to surgery to escape extreme physical ills. Why not also to escape the more deadly moral ills? By means of this dramatic analogy Jesus aimed to arouse men from their lethargy regarding moral values. He taught them to sacrifice everything else in order to preserve their honour and purity and clarity of vision —all those qualities which stand for upright character.

Jesus' Rejection of the Pharisaic Interpretation of the Sabbath. The question of Sabbath observance was as vital and as hotly discussed in the first Christian century as it is to-day. In the years following the Babylonian exile the Sabbath had become one of the chief institutions of Judaism. With misguided zeal the later scribes and rabbis had endeavoured to preserve its sanctity by hedging it about with a vast number of rigid regulations. The huge structure of laws which they had reared about it had almost entirely obscured its real value and significance. Jesus, inspired by his profound appreciation of the paramount importance of developing personality, entirely rejected this institutional conception of the Sabbath and estimated it simply on the basis of its social and religious value to the individual. In so doing he took his stand squarely with the earlier prophets in opposition to its institutional interpretation by the priests and Pharisees. A vivid presentation of his position is found in Mark 2^{23-28}:

> And it came to pass that he was going on the Sabbath day through the grain fields; and his disciples began, as they went, to pluck the ears. And the Pharisees said to him, 'Behold, why do they do that which is not lawful on the Sabbath day?' And he said to them, 'Have you never read what David did, when he had need and both he and those with him were hungry? how he

> entered into the house of God, when Abiathar was high priest, and ate the showbread, which only the priests may eat, and gave also to those with him?' And he said to them, 'The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath; and so the son of man is also lord of the Sabbath.'

Thus with one stroke Jesus did away with the old ceremonial interpretation which made the Sabbath a day of bondage, and proclaimed it to be God's good gift to man. Unfortunately it has taken his followers more than eighteen centuries fully to appreciate his position. Our present conception of the Sabbath is still befogged by the fact that our Puritan forefathers followed the Pharisees rather than Jesus in interpreting the aim and value of this day of rest. By his practice as well as in his teaching Jesus declared that the Sabbath is made for man. To the utter horror of his Pharisaic critics, he apparently redoubled on that day his acts of healing and helpful services. To their criticisms he replied with what was to them an unanswerable question (Mk. 3^4):

> Is it lawful on the Sabbath day to do good or to do harm? to save a life or to kill?

It is evident that Jesus and his critics were thinking on entirely different levels. Their idea that the Sabbath was an institution before which all men must slavishly bow was as repulsive to him as were many of the old Jewish ceremonial rites, which he quietly rejected. Paul doubtless reflects the spirit of his Master in regarding the conscientious scruples of the man who "rates one day above another." The apostle himself evidently "rated all days alike" (Rom. 14^5). The same attitude toward this Jewish institution is reflected in what may well be an original teaching of Jesus. It is preserved in one of the best Western texts (Codex Bezæ) of Luke 6^5 and recurs in the sayings of Jesus recently discovered in Egypt:

> Observing a man at work on the Sabbath, he said to him, 'Man, if you know what you are doing, happy are you; but if you do not know, you are cursed and a transgressor of the law.'

Jesus' Example and Teachings Regarding the Larger Use of the Sabbath. Jesus not only swept away the ancient prohibitions which made the Jewish Sabbath a day of repression and anxiety, but he also gave to it a rich and positive meaning. It is significant that on that day he took his disciples out into the fields into touch with nature. He encouraged them in the free expression of their harmless natural impulses, even though in plucking the ears of grain they were deliberately disregarding the Pharisaic prohibitions. In the light of this specific example it is difficult to conceive that Jesus would have frowned on any use of the Sabbath which gives to toiling men rest and wholesome recreation without depriving other men of their rightful rest. It is also clear, in view of his profound emphasis on the importance of developing human personality, that he would have insisted that the form of recreation be not only wholesome, but adapted to the higher needs of each individual. The method which Jesus followed with his disciples also indicates that he appreciated the importance of change and variety in order to develop the entire man.

No teacher ever emphasised more strongly than did he the higher and more abiding sources of joy and re-creation. He himself set the example of attending the synagogue on the Sabbath; but he did not stop with this merely conventional act. The Sabbath was for him a day of rich spiritual experience and activity. He made it, in the largest sense, "a day of joy and gladness." He taught by his acts that man's lordship of the Sabbath involved large responsibilities. Each hour of this unique day of rest was to be used, not only for the highest development of the individual, but also for the fullest service of his fellows. The great task remains for his followers to interpret the social spirit and attitude of Jesus toward the Sabbath into the terms of our complex modern life, and to make it again, not a day hedged in by prohibitions and shrouded by gloom, but in every sense a day of rest and growth and joyous service.

Jesus' Analysis of the Sources of Real Happiness. The well-being and happiness of both the individual and of society

were the ultimate goals of all of Jesus' teaching and work. He, as none other, recognised that happiness and social efficiency are indissolubly connected, and that happy citizens insure a happy and prosperous society. None ever analysed as fully as did he the sources of individual happiness. He put the results of his analysis into a series of terse, often paradoxical beatitudes, which present, in striking contrast to the current ideas, the profound results of his observation and experience. He recognised that, as has been said, true happiness is a by-product and that those who go in hot pursuit of it rarely find it. Amusement and recreation are but a few of the many contributing causes. The ultimate source of real happiness is right thinking and living and doing. The beatitudes aim to define the right ways of thinking and living. The Greek word usually translated "blessed" really means "O how divinely happy!"

The first four of Jesus' beatitudes deal with man's personal attitude toward life; the second four deal with his relations to his fellow men. In the first beatitude Jesus emphasised the importance of a right estimate of one's self and of the receptive attitude toward God and toward life (Mt. 5^3):

> Happy the poor in spirit!
> For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

The characteristic here described is the opposite of pride and self-assertion. It is the quality absolutely essential as a basis for good citizenship in the kingdom of heaven. Not in some distant future, but indeed in the present, the privilege of sharing in its joys comes to those who seek in the varied acts of life to live in accord with the will and purpose of God. To them is assured that harmonious adjustment to their divine and human environment which is the first essential of true happiness.

Even more paradoxical is the axiomatic truth embodied in the second beatitude (Mt. 5^4):

> Happy are they who mourn!
> For they shall be comforted.

As in Isaiah 61, they who mourn are those whose minds are filled with lofty aspirations both for themselves and for society. The source of their comfort is the attainment of these ideals; and with that attainment comes the joy which is shared only by those who long for the loftiest and divinest gifts.

In the third beatitude Jesus endeavoured to define man's normal attitude toward personal honours and material possessions (Mt. 5[5]):

> Happy are the meek!
> For they shall inherit the earth.

He who is ever looking out for his own material or personal interest has no time for anything else. His fellow men also instantly recognise him as a rival to be combated rather than helped. But the man whose merit outruns his claims wins the confidence of all and has in every man an ardent champion, so that in the end far more of the really good things of life come to him than to the insistent self-seeker. This fact is clearly expressed by Jesus in the epigram:

> Every one who exalts himself shall be humbled,
> And he who humbles himself shall be exalted.

The fourth beatitude is clearly akin to the second (Mt. 5[6]):

> Happy are they who are hungry and thirsting for righteousness!
> For they shall be satisfied.

The strong figure that is here employed expresses intense desire and complete satisfaction. Underlying this beatitude is the eternal fact that righteousness is absolutely essential to the happiness both of the individual and of society and can be attained only by those who intently seek it.

The first of the distinctly social beatitudes (Mt. 5[7]),

> Happy are the merciful!
> For they shall obtain mercy,

stresses the kindly, chivalrous attitude toward all men which is pre-eminently exemplified in Jesus' personality and life. This divine quality is necessary if man is to secure what each ardently desires, namely, the assurance of the favour both of God and of men. Equally important is personal purity in thought, in motive, in speech, and in deed (Mt. 5^8):

> Happy are the pure in heart!
> For they shall see God.

Still more kinetic is the third of the social beatitudes (Mt. 5^9):

> Happy are the peacemakers!
> For they shall be called sons of God.

As has been already noted (p. 183), the peacemakers are those who are intent on bringing harmony and completeness into life. Their point of view and aim are those of God himself, and therefore they are rightly called sons of God.

The last and most paradoxical of Jesus' beatitudes was so important that he apparently expressed the underlying thought in many different forms. Matthew 5^{10} has possibly preserved it in its simplest form:

> Happy are they who have been persecuted on account of righteousness:
> For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Jesus knew from personal experience the exultant joy of suffering in behalf of a great cause. Hyperbolic and paradoxical though his words seem, he was but voicing an experience which at some time comes to every man of courage and with red blood in his veins. It is the joy of the patriot who offers his life in behalf of his country, the happiness of facing opposition and suffering persecution in consequence of some great service performed, or because of loyalty to a great leader. Christian history abounds in illustrations of the truth of this beatitude. That life is dreary indeed which knows not the joy of suffering

in behalf of a worthy though unpopular cause. In the great majority of instances persecution is the evidence of achievement and of an important service done in behalf of society.

Paul has preserved (Acts 20^{35b}) one of Jesus' beatitudes which is in many ways the crown of them all. In its original form it probably read:

> Happier is he who gives than he who receives.

Here again Jesus was but voicing his own tested experience. To know the transcendent happiness that comes alone from giving joy to others, the giving must be without hope of reward. As Jesus repeatedly taught, he who gives that he may receive cuts himself off from the possibility of attaining the highest reward. He who would demonstrate in his own experience the truth of this beatitude must be filled with genuine love and sympathy for those to whom he gives, for the well-being that results from the service is the chief source of his happiness.

Conclusions Regarding Jesus' Philosophy of Living. Jesus calls men to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and happiness in the largest and most abundant measure. Only those who attain this goal are fitted to be efficient citizens in the new social order which he aimed to establish. No wholesome form of amusement or recreation fails to receive his hearty approval. He summons men to strive earnestly for all that is highest and best in human experience and to reject simply that which is unsatisfying and destructive of true happiness. Loyal service in behalf of the home, the community, and the state is not a burden but an opportunity to attain the highest individual happiness. Jesus frankly taught that the happiness of the individual and of society was the ultimate object of all his efforts. He realised that only in this way could man bring perfect joy to the heart of the Eternal. Jesus was by no means blind to the hideous and painful elements in human life and in the universe as he found it; but, like the earlier prophets, he boldly and unceasingly declared that the ultimate purpose in the mind of God was to develop a universe in which righteousness and

trust and loyalty should prevail and the well-being and happiness of all be assured. To realise this purpose he laboured and taught and died. His message was not one of sadness but of gladness. Sorrow and lamentation had no place in the hearts of his followers; rather theirs was the joy of guests at a wedding-feast. Whenever his teaching and way of living have been truly interpreted, they have brought health and happiness and harmony into a diseased, sorrowful, and discordant world.

XX

JESUS' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS

Jesus' Interest in Economic Problems. Jesus did not propound an elaborate economic system, and yet at the foundation of his social teachings lie certain ethical and economic principles that are as vital as they are advanced. Any economic system that is to abide must reckon with them. They are presented so incidentally and elusively that the reader of the gospel narratives often fails to discover them. They are set forth in Jesus' answers to searching questions that were flung at him, in chance conversations, in direct statements, above all, in the matchless parables in which he clothed his profoundest teachings. It is at first glance surprising to find how large a part of his teachings deal with the value and use of wealth. Four explanations of this fact suggest themselves. The first is that the acquisition of wealth is the chief ambition of the majority of men. None of the men to whom Jesus appealed had great fortunes, but practically all of them were in quest of that which represented material comfort for themselves and for those dependent upon them. They included humble farmers, industrious fishermen, enterprising merchants, and grafting tax collectors. Even the learned and pious Pharisees were exceedingly eager to acquire wealth.

A second reason is that the subject is in itself of the greatest importance, not only from the point of view of the individual, but also of society. Furthermore, the hot pursuit of riches was unquestionably the chief barrier that kept men from accepting Jesus' philosophy of living. Finally, Jesus himself, during at least fifteen years of his life, had had wide practical experience, both as a manual labourer and perhaps also later as an employer of labour. He therefore approached economic questions not as a theorist, but as one who spoke out

of a broad experience and observation, and above all from the moral point of view.

In the light of this fact, it is not strange that questions of this character were constantly being referred to him. Repeatedly the scribes and Pharisees sought to wring from him a definite expression of opinion on the great economic problem of his day and race, as to whether or not the faithful Jew should pay tribute to Cæsar. In every case he refused to be entangled in technicalities, but laid down instead a broad principle, leaving the individual decision to each man's enlightened judgment. On one occasion we are told (Lk. 12^{13-15}) that

> A man out of the crowd said to him, 'Teacher, tell my brother to share the inheritance with me.' But he said to him, 'Man, who made me a judge or an arbiter over you?' Then Jesus said to them, 'Take heed and keep yourselves from every kind of covetousness, for a man's life consists not in having more possessions than he needs.'

As was his custom, Jesus first analysed the underlying motives which governed the man's action. In this case Jesus was evidently less concerned about the actual division of the inheritance than about the sinister spirit of covetousness that he saw revealed in the man's tone and expression. He recognised that the chief danger was not that the man might lose his share of the inheritance but rather his vision of what was really worth striving for. Even the question of securing justice seemed unimportant compared with the man's moral and social development. With the true instinct of a teacher, Jesus also made this specific case the occasion for one of his most significant utterances.

Jesus' General Attitude toward Wealth. The concluding sentence of the passage just quoted states succinctly Jesus' attitude toward wealth. It is an excellent illustration of his sane judgment on all economic questions. There is a note of both humour and pathos in his words:

> For a man's life consists not in having more possessions than he needs!

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Jesus' Teachings Regarding the Perils of Wealth. What many men in Jesus' day, no less than in ours, most required was not incitement to industry and encouragement to acquire more material possessions. The majority of them—some consciously but the majority unconsciously—were striving for "more possessions than they needed," and thereby losing sight of that in which a man's life consists. What they supremely needed was a right philosophy of wealth. That Jesus used hyperbolic language in describing the dangers of excessive wealth and its unreasonable quest is obvious; but this fact only tended to emphasise the importance of the subject and his zeal to fix the underlying truth in men's minds. Then, as to-day, the love of wealth (*i. e.*, that which represented purely material possessions) was one of the greatest perils that threatened men's liberty and the complete development of their personality. To acquire riches men were ready to sell their bodies and souls and to repudiate their most sacred social obligations. Much of the massed wealth of Jesus' day was acquired by graft or exaction or by exploiting the dependent classes. But even if justly acquired, there was great danger that it would stifle the social impulses of its possessor and cause his soul to shrivel. Luke 16 contains a story which presents a remarkable analysis of this insidious tendency. It is the vivid picture of the rich man feasting with his friends, surrounded by all the material comforts that wealth could purchase, living a life strictly legal according to the accepted law, but devoted exclusively to the selfish gratification of his own desires. At his door lies the poor beggar Lazarus, the superlative type of human need and woe. Of the two, the condition of the rich man in this life, as well as the life beyond, is the more tragic, because his wealth has so completely blunted his social consciousness that he is not even aware of his fatal sin and loss in neglecting the great responsibility and opportunity at his door.

In the story of the rich young man who came to Jesus we have the record of a typical case taken from his social laboratory. The young man's question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" indicates that, although he had spiritual aspira-

tions, he was already the victim of inherited wealth, for "eternal life" in the language of the day meant a title to individual future blessedness. His ideal, therefore, even for the future, was still selfishly individualistic.

Like the great Athenian teacher of earlier days, Jesus instantly diagnosed the case and endeavoured to relieve the man of his false egoism by means of a series of searching questions. There was something in the youth which appealed profoundly to Jesus' affection, for the narrative declares that "as he looked upon him, he loved him." By training and inclination he was already qualified for admission to the inner circle of the disciples. Recognising the heavy handicap which wealth had placed upon the youth, Jesus proposed to deliver him by resorting to a heroic measure. He sought with one sweeping stroke to free him of all his incumbrances (Mk. 10^{21}):

> And Jesus said to him, 'One thing you lack; go, sell whatever you have, and give to the poor; so shall you have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me.'

The bold experiment failed, not because it was impracticable, but because the possession of wealth had so weakened the young man's will that he was incapable of responding to the great challenge (Mk. 10^{22}):

> But his countenance fell at this saying, and he went away sorrowful, for he was one that had great possessions.

It was the ever-recurring pathetic story of a man tied hand and foot by vested interests. Luxury, ease, position, and a certain public esteem, which wealth brought, had all woven their meshes about him. His moral fibre, as a result, was so weak that he felt unable to walk alone. The possibility of sharing in the work which Jesus was doing evidently had a great attraction for him; but nevertheless he was ready to risk even his title to future blessedness, for which he had been so eager, in order to retain his hold on "more possessions than he needed."

The reaction of this experience on Jesus is equally suggestive (Mk. 10^{23-25}):

> Then Jesus looked around and said to his disciples, 'How difficult it is for the wealthy to enter the kingdom of God!' And the disciples were amazed at what he said. But Jesus addressed them again, saying, 'Children, how difficult it is to enter the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God!'

The too vivid imagination of a modern Jewish woman has created a definite gate in the walls of ancient Jerusalem called "The Needle's Eye," but it has absolutely no foundation in fact. What Jesus had in mind was the ordinary needle employed in domestic life. He was again using hyperbole to express the intensity of his conviction and to drive home his teaching. His disciples fully appreciated the force of the figure (Mk. $10^{26, 27}$):

> And they were exceedingly astonished and said to themselves, 'Then who can be saved?' Jesus looked at them and said, 'With man it is impossible, but with God all things are possible.'

Jesus was the world's greatest social psychologist. No one ever analysed the motives in the mind of a man as did he. No one appreciated more clearly than he how great an obstacle the possession of riches placed in the way of a man's attaining his highest development and the fullest measure of his ability. At the same time his scientific impartiality is shown by his statement that it was not absolutely impossible for a man to surmount this obstacle. It called, however, for divine help. Experience amply confirms his conclusion. To discharge one's obligations as a social citizen, far more of the love and power of God is required in the heart of the rich than of the man with moderate means. But fortunately these examples of the power of God are not unknown in our modern life. Some of the most faithful followers of Jesus to-day are men and women who have inherited or amassed large fortunes which they are using devotedly and intelligently for the service of society.

The Wrong Use of Wealth. Nowhere in literature is there a more subtle analysis of the psychology of wealth and of the fallacies inherent in the current materialistic philosophy than in the parable of a certain rich man (Lk. 12^{16-21}):

> And he spoke a parable to them, saying, 'The ground of a certain man bore large crops. And he argued with himself, saying, "What shall I do, for I have no room to store my crops?" And he said, "This will I do: I will pull down my barns and build larger ones; and there I will store all my grain and my goods. And I will say to myself, Now, you have many goods laid up for many years; take your ease, eat, drink, and be merry." But God said to him, "Foolish man! this very night thy life is demanded of thee. And the things which thou hast prepared—whose then shall they be?" So is the man who stores up treasures for himself instead of being rich toward God.'

Luke connects this parable with Jesus' broad positive statement found in Matthew 6^{19-24}:

> Store up no treasures for yourself on earth,
> Where moth and rust consume,
> And where thieves break through and steal;
> But store up for yourselves treasures in heaven,
> Where neither moth nor rust consume,
> And where thieves do not break through or steal.
> For where thy treasure is,
> There shall thine heart be also.
>
> The lamp of the body is the eye;
> If thine eye then be perfect,
> Thy whole body shall be lighted up.
> But if thine eye be useless,
> Thy whole body shall be darkened.
> If the light in thee is darkness,
> How great is that darkness!
>
> No man can serve two masters;
> For either he will hate the one and love the other,
> Or else he will hold to one and despise the other.
> You cannot serve God and mammon.

If the parable of "a certain rich man" were found outside the Bible a modern business man might say of his action: "Good policy." It is only his motive ("eat, drink, and be merry") that would be condemned. To-day the typical rich man, not being a farmer, would not need to pull down his barns but would simply add income to principal. The picture is absolutely true to life and reflects the business standards that have largely obtained up to the present. If the supreme aim of the individual is to amass riches, these methods are impeccable. If dividends are more important than persons, then Jesus' teachings are fallacious and hostile to the highest interests of society, for he flatly condemned fortune-hunting as a life purpose. In the mind of the rich man of the parable there is not a glimmer of social consciousness. He is the twin brother of the rich man in the story of the beggar Lazarus. Viewed through the eyes of Jesus, he is not an object of scorn and contempt but of profound pity.

The Reasons Why the Mere Quest of Wealth Is Unsatisfying. Jesus suggests four reasons why the condition of this type of man is supremely pathetic. The first is the most obvious: it is that riches and all the things which they represent are inevitably ephemeral. Men may defend their devoted quest of wealth by a multiplicity of reasons, but they cannot eliminate the stubborn fact that its tenure at the most is exceedingly brief and the pleasures which mere things contribute are extremely limited. Measured by the lowest individualistic standard, the question may well be raised whether the game is worth the candle. The error into which the majority of men fall who amass more wealth than they or their families really need is that they do not even stop to question the value of the game which every one seems to be playing.

A second reason why the selfish quest of riches, according to Jesus, is unsatisfactory is because it dwarfs and destroys human personality. He always insisted that a man's most precious possession is his personality. Anything which is inimical to that is a foe to the man's best interests and happiness:

If thine eye be useless, the whole body will be darkened.
If the light in thee is darkness, how great is that darkness!

A third reason why amassing wealth should not be made the ruling motive in life is because it leads men to forget the value of persons and dulls the sense of brotherhood. As modern industrial history abundantly demonstrates, it makes possible the heartless aggrandisement which still characterises the policy of some corporations. It leads certain employers to herd their fellow men together and treat them simply as so many beasts of burden. It therefore destroys the very foundations of permanent social well-being, for while the few prosper, the many suffer. Moreover, the greed for inordinate dividends is undoubtedly one of the chief causes of the high cost of living.

The fourth and most important reason is because the absorbing pursuit of wealth as an end in itself is incompatible with true love and loyalty to God. Modern psychology teaches that two ideas cannot at the same time occupy the centre of consciousness. Men cannot have two primary aims in life. The individual's value to society depends on whether he, like the untrained child, is simply intent upon amassing things for himself, or whether the higher social self-control, which is loyalty to God and to his fellow men, has become the guiding principle in his life.

The Right Use of Wealth. Jesus not only appreciated the value of wealth rightly acquired but also taught the wise way in which to use it. Here as ever he laid down not laws but principles, leaving each to apply them to his individual case. He taught that if a man allows the quest of wealth to become his master, he thereby becomes an abject slave, subject to the most cruel of tyrants. If he regards wealth simply as a servant and uses it to minister to his highest interests and those of society, he is not only a wise but an efficient citizen. It was this principle which he was clearly seeking to illustrate in the often misunderstood parable of the unjust steward, recorded in Luke 16^{1-12}. It is obvious that Jesus was not commending the steward's dishonesty in misusing the wealth intrusted to him, but rather his success in winning those things which are

of higher and more abiding value, such as friendship and a business credit, which survived the sweeping catastrophe that he saw approaching. In reproducing the words of Jesus, the influence of Luke's socialistic point of view probably explains his use of the term "mammon of dishonesty" as the equivalent of wealth. In any case, Jesus' thought is put in paradoxical form (Lk. 16[10-12]):

> He who is faithful in what is least is faithful also in much;
> And he who is dishonest in what is least is dishonest also in much.
> If, then, you have not proved faithful in the dishonest mammon,
> Who will trust you with the true?
> And if you have not proved faithful in what is another's,
> Who will give you what is your own?

Underlying all of Jesus' teachings regarding wealth is the old Semitic idea of stewardship. In his mind the Golden Rule applied not only to men's personal attitude and acts toward others, but also to the use of whatever property they may possess. From a purely economic point of view this principle of the stewardship of wealth is incontrovertible. Man brings nothing into the world and can take nothing out. He can acquire and guard the property that he may hold only with the co-operation of others.

The wise administration of wealth as a social trust in itself also contains great potentiality for character development. The problem of what Jesus calls "converting wealth into treasures that can be stored up in heaven" is not always easy, but is one of the most important that every man has to solve, whether he has much or little. It is also fortunate that our complex modern society offers him many aids in solving it. If he but face the problem of the right use of wealth frankly and fearlessly, he will learn through rich experience the supreme truth underlying Jesus' great beatitude:

> Happier is he who gives than he who receives.

A Living Wage for All. The doctrine that every man who is willing to work should be given an opportunity to earn a

living for himself and for those dependent upon him is ordinarily regarded as exceedingly modern. By many it is still looked upon as a twentieth-century economic heresy. It is, however, but a natural, inevitable corollary of Jesus' teaching that wealth is simply held by the individual in trust for society. No faithful steward can fail to give to those for whom he holds wealth in trust at least an opportunity to win by what labour they are able to offer a portion sufficient for their support. According to Jesus' economic teachings the assurance of a living for all is not only the right of the weak but the primary responsibility of the strong.

This principle is at the foundation of one of the short stories that he told in order to illustrate an essential characteristic of the new social order which he was seeking to establish (Mt. 20^{1-15}):

> The kingdom of heaven is like a householder who went out early in the morning to seek labourers to work in his vineyard. And when he had made an agreement with the labourers for a shilling a day, he sent them into his vineyard. Then about nine o'clock he went out and saw others standing about in the market-place. To these also he said, 'You too go into the vineyard, and whatever is right I will give you.' So they went. Again about twelve and about three o'clock he went out and did the same. Then about five o'clock he found others standing about. And he said to them, 'Why have you been standing here idle all day long?' They replied, 'Because no one has hired us.' So he said, 'You also go into the vineyard.' Now when evening came, the owner of the vineyard said to his steward, 'Call the labourers and pay them their wages. Begin with the last and end with the first to go to work.' And when those came who had begun at five o'clock, they each received a shilling. And when the first came they expected to receive more; but they also each received a shilling. And when they had received it they began to grumble against their employer, saying, 'Those who came last have worked only one hour, and you have put them on the same basis with us who bore the burden and scorching heat of the day.' But he said in reply to one of them, 'Friend, I am doing you no wrong. Did you not make an agreement with me for one shilling? Take your money and go. It is my will to give to this last comer just as much

as to you. Is it not lawful for me to do what I wish with my own property? Or are you jealous because I am generous?'

This illustration brings into clear relief the striking contrast between the current economic practice and the principle which Jesus was setting forth. The employer, like the Good Samaritan, was clearly intended as a type of the truly social citizen. He is interested not primarily in getting his work done and in squeezing the labour market, but in seeing that all his fellow men have employment. In thickly populated Palestine there was no difficulty in securing labourers in abundance. Evidently the householder did not hire men to work one hour at a full day's wage because he was in dire need of their services. Rather it was to him a subject of deep concern that men who were able and willing to work were standing idle. He was one of the first in human history and literature to advocate the principle that it is for the interest of society to give to all its members an opportunity to engage in remunerative employment. It is a principle which is now rapidly gaining acceptance not only for moral but also for strictly economic reasons. Since the days of Aristotle enlightened economists have seen that idle hands are a burden upon all. Even in prosperous America to-day an appalling proportion of the population are non-producers and therefore are carried on the shoulders of the active workers. Furthermore, if society is to continue on a sound economic basis, not only the able but the less competent and the mentally as well as physically defective must be taught and encouraged to support themselves in so far as they are able. Furthermore, society cannot afford to allow even the morally defective and the most arrant criminals to "stand idle all the day long." Also experience has convincingly demonstrated that work itself is one of the best cures of their physical, mental, and moral ills. To provide wholesome employment for these classes is therefore one of the most important problems that confronts our modern civilisation. It concerns the capitalist as vitally as it does the philanthropist and the social reformer. Already great corporations in America are beginning to face this problem squarely and to provide for the intellectual

and physical as well as the industrial welfare of all dependent upon them. The householder of the parable was simply in advance of his age, for he stood on an unassailable economic as well as moral basis. If the aim of organised capital or labor is simply to allow a few to fatten at the expense of the majority, then Jesus' principle is not practical. But if it is to promote the happiness and well-being and efficiency of the social group as a whole, then the first and most important task of society is to provide for all its members, and even for those who, like the blind and crippled and insane, are able to do but the equivalent of one hour's labour, a respectable means of securing a living. Furthermore, during the present transitional stage every citizen is under obligation, whether he be an employer or a member of a labour union, to do everything in his power to provide such employment for all.

In this remarkable parable Jesus threw light on both sides of the vexed labour problem. He did not for a moment encourage idleness. The shirk has no place in the kingdom of God as he interpreted it. The householder's horror at seeing labourers standing idle is clearly that of Jesus himself. Equally significant is the householder's blunt refusal to give additional pay to those who had laboured all the day long. Here the fundamental principle of remuneration is involved. Should labour be regarded as a commodity subject simply to the law of supply and demand? Or does faithful, honest labour involve a spiritual contribution which cannot be paid for in money? In the latter case, should remuneration be based solely on the market value of the labourer's product or also on his need and the spirit with which he works? In reality the men who had worked all the day long had done far more than those who had toiled but one hour. Jesus puts their case fairly and strongly: they had borne the burden and heat of the day and had contributed far more to the common wealth than their fellow workers who had toiled but one hour. If labour is simply a commodity and the comparison is only with those who had worked simply an hour, the householder's position seems unjust and untenable, and yet his fundamental principle is irrefutable: the full-time workers

had received the stipulated wage, which represented the full value of their services. In the final analysis they were claiming more remuneration than their labour actually deserved. To grant their unreasonable request would be to defraud society, for it would be given at the expense of the entire social group. They would be stealing a part of the common wealth as truly as the capitalist who takes a larger dividend than his contribution to society merits or his absolute needs require.

The principle which Jesus sought to stress in this parable anticipates a more difficult problem. Both the full-time labourers and those who had worked but one hour had laboured according to their ability and opportunity. To both society, unless it revert to savagery and let the unfit starve, must in the end give a living. To give it as indicated in the parable in the form of remuneration for faithful labour is not only more considerate but infinitely more practical than by pauperising the less efficient workers by charitable doles or by putting them into almshouses, asylums, and jails, and thereby vastly increasing the ultimate burden on the shoulders of the strong; for the economic principle that decreased production is a social loss is incontestable and unescapable. Therefore, Jesus' teaching suggests the only just and practical basis on which the efficient and the physically and mentally defective can work together to conserve their common interest.

Relief of Poverty. It is significant how small a place Jesus gave in his teachings to the subject of almsgiving. Obviously his command to the rich young man to sell all that he had and give to the poor was uttered because Jesus was primarily concerned in developing the young man's social consciousness and efficiency. Also in his discussion of almsgiving (Mt. 6^{1-4}), Jesus is simply interested in its effect upon the giver. For this reason he urges that the giving be in secret rather than in public. Only once, and that in the latest of the gospels (Jn. 13^{29}), is there found even the slightest suggestion that he himself was accustomed to give money to the poor. Like the earlier social teachers of his race, he sought to relieve and ultimately eliminate poverty by removing the underlying causes. In the first

place, he endeavoured to develop industry and fidelity to one's task, and thus to remove one of the chief causes of pauperism. More fundamental still, he sought, by putting men into right relations to their heavenly Father and to their fellow men and by giving them a right estimate of the value of wealth, to free them from worry and discontent and jealousy and all the evils that destroy physical and mental efficiency. He also aimed to check at their fountain-source all forms of exaction and exploitation and other unsocial economic evils, which are among the chief causes of poverty. Furthermore, he sought to inspire in all men that spirit of fraternity and helpfulness which makes poverty impossible and which insures to each an opportunity to do his part in the world's work. He strove to lead every man to regard the possession of wealth as a divine stewardship to be administered impartially and wisely for the common good. Finally, he proposed that society provide an honourable living for every man who is ready to contribute all that he can, whether it be much or little, to the world's wealth. In any society where these principles are accepted, poverty and its twin brother crime must in time inevitably disappear. In such a society personality, instead of being dwarfed and crushed, will attain its noblest and divinest development. Humanity, through costly experiments and failures, is just beginning to learn that Jesus was not a vague theorist, but the most practical economic teacher that has ever dealt with these fundamental problems of society, for he looked beyond mere wealth to abiding personal values.

A Résumé of Jesus' Economic Teachings. Jesus' economic teachings are highly individualistic; but they rise to a plane where the interests of the individual and of society are absolutely identical. Briefly stated in modern terms, they are: (1) The possession of more things than are necessary for a man tends to destroy his freedom and his social efficiency. (2) The pursuit of wealth as an end in itself is incompatible with loyalty to a man's highest ideals and interests as well as to those of society. (3) Each man is under obligation to contribute to the wealth of society in exact proportion to his ability. (4) No man

is entitled to share in the world's wealth who is not willing to work, and service to society constitutes his only valid claim to the possession of property. (5) Private property is a public trust to be administered for the best interests of society. (6) Society is under obligation to devise means so that each man who is willing to labour will have not only a living, but also an opportunity to contribute what he is able to the common wealth. (7) The rights of humanity are paramount to those of capital. (8) The cure of poverty is the elimination of its ultimate causes, moral and intellectual, as well as economic. (9) In the Christian social order the dominant principle is not selfish competition but fraternal co-operation which aims to promote the economic welfare of each individual, of each class, and of society as a whole. Competition has a place, even under the Golden Rule, but its motive is social rather than individualistic, its purpose is primarily to promote efficiency rather than merely to increase private wealth, and its benefits are shared by the entire community as well as by the capitalist and labourer.

XXI

JESUS' TEACHINGS REGARDING THE FAMILY

Jesus' Estimate of the Importance of the Family. Ordinarily Jesus had little to say about institutions. In this respect he stood in striking contrast to the contemporary leaders of his race, who were inclined to interpret religion in terms of institutionalism. It is evident that he saw the evils of this tendency and reacted strongly against it. As we have noted, he even refused to regard the Sabbath as an institution. In only one case did he depart from his usual rule. That exception was the family. With all the vehemence of deep conviction he sought to safeguard the family. There were many reasons why he gave this institution a central place in his teaching. In so doing he was but following the example of the earlier prophets, priests, and sages of his race. Through all the centuries the chief glory of Judaism has been its family life. Israel's entire social structure was built upon this institution as its chief corner-stone. Jesus recognised that, if this was imperfect or insecure, no stable social order could be established.

Jesus' own experience in his home at Nazareth had also revealed to him the social potentialities of a home in which the spirit of fraternity and loyalty prevailed. He paid the highest possible tribute to his own home life, for he expanded the idea of the family into his comprehensive social ideal of the kingdom of God. As a teacher he also appreciated the fact that it is only in the home that efficient social citizens can be trained. Here most naturally and effectively all that is finest and most significant in the inherited experience of the race can be not only imparted but also transmuted into character. Without the effective co-operation of the family it is impossible thoroughly to christianise society.

Jesus' Attitude toward Marriage. In view of these facts it was exceedingly unfortunate that the mediæval church radically misinterpreted Jesus' conception of marriage, which is the foundation of all family life. It assumed that marriage was a concession to human weakness. Instead Jesus asserted, with the prophetic author of Genesis 2^{24}, that marriage is necessary to meet the innate social needs of man and that its obligations are supreme (Mt. $19^{4, 5}$):

> From the beginning God made mankind male and female. For this cause a man shall leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh.

Jesus' encouragement of marriage among his followers, his interest in the home, and his love of children all evince his complete approval of this institution.

The one passage in the gospels which has been interpreted as indicating disapproval is not a command but an observation (Mt. 19^{12}):

> There are eunuchs who make themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.

This is clearly but an appreciation of the fact that, as in the case of the prophet Jeremiah, of the apostle Paul, and of Jesus himself, there are tasks and circumstances in which the complete giving of one's time and thought and energy to a great cause are productive of the largest results. It is clear from the context that in Jesus' mind such men represented not the general rule but signal exceptions.

Jesus' Attitude toward Divorce. Jesus' hearty approval of marriage is shown by the zeal with which he attacked the current tendency to make divorce easy. As has already been noted, it was one of Israel's malign social inheritances. The zeal of earlier prophets and lawgivers had not yet succeeded in rooting out this evil. Contemporary Pharisaism was rather tolerant toward divorce. If Jesus ever exposed himself to the charge of intolerance, it was in his treatment of this sensitive

yet vital subject. With all his might he set himself against anything which threatened the integrity of the family. To the teaching of the ancient prophet in Genesis 2^{24} he added the sweeping statement (Mt. 19^{6}):

> What therefore God hath joined together let not man put asunder.

This command is found in the oldest teaching source and is corroborated by the explicit testimony of the early Mark narrative (Mk. 10^{10-12}):

> Whoever shall divorce his wife and marry another commits adultery against her.
> And if she divorces her husband and marries another, she commits adultery.

This teaching was in reply to a question raised by Jesus' Pharisaic opponents. They evidently expected him to speak as he did and hoped thereby to rouse the antagonism of many of his hearers whose lax practices were condemned by his plain words. The Aramaic language, like the Hebrew but unlike the Greek, was largely devoid of connective particles. The conjunction *and* was frequently used where a Greek or modern writer would use the connective, *in order that*. Here, as in every case, Jesus was evidently dealing with motives. Hence his teaching can best be translated into our modern idiom:

> Whoever shall divorce his wife in order to marry another, commits adultery against her.
> And if she divorces her husband in order to marry another, she commits adultery.

Again we are impressed by the directness and sanity of Jesus' teaching. What we have here is not so much a command as an unvarnished statement of fact: to secure divorce in order to remarry is simply adultery. From the earliest days human society has recognised that adultery is the most deadly and the most unsocial of crimes, for it destroys not only the in-

tegrity and happiness of the two immediately involved, but also lays in ruins the home, the foundation of all society.

Mark has evidently preserved the earliest form of Jesus' teaching. Jesus clearly did not deem it necessary to deal with the exceptional case where either the husband or wife was utterly faithless to the marriage vow. There was no necessity for this digression, for the Jewish law condemned to death any one guilty of adultery. Therefore, in the eyes of the law an adulterous husband or wife was already under the death sentence and the innocent victim was free to remarry. This evidently was the interpretation adopted by the early church and is represented in the parallel passage in Matthew by the phrase (apparently later inserted), "except for fornication." Jesus' silence on this point, however, suggests that the noble example of the great prophet Hosea in trying to redeem his faithless wife Gomer (*cf.* p. 51) appealed to him even more strongly than the harsh legalism of his day. His own attitude toward the woman taken in adultery leaves no doubt that his profound sympathy went out toward the social outcasts who need, above all things, human love and compassion.

Rigorous though Jesus' teaching seems regarding divorce, it is confirmed by Paul in I Corinthians 7^{10-11}, where the great apostle declares that he is speaking directly on his Master's authority. The full explanation of Jesus' seemingly extreme position is found in his high estimate of the sanctity and significance of the marriage relation. Upon its integrity depends the best welfare both of the individual and of society, for it is the only practical basis for a wholesome family life. In the great majority of cases the selfish rather than the social impulse drives men and women into the divorce courts. Furthermore, modern experience has grimly demonstrated that divorce does not correct but only increases the evils which it seeks to eliminate.

Jesus' teachings on this subject do not stand alone, but are an integral part of his practical philosophy of living. These principles, when applied to the problems of life, make his austere position eminently practical. It is the despondent husband

or the nerve-racked wife who supremely needs the loyal love and sympathetic help of the one who too often selfishly seeks to escape these obligations through divorce. All the chivalry of Jesus' nature revolted against the craven cowardice and the beastly egoism revealed in an ordinary divorce procedure. He fought it not merely by direct command but by making love the ruling principle in human life and by thus eliminating the causes which lead to divorce. When husband and wife are working whole-heartedly for each other's happiness and highest development, divorce is an impossibility. The limitations and needs of the one tend only to inspire the sympathy and devotion of the other. A marriage consummated and interpreted in accord with Jesus' principles of living is impregnable. But if founded simply on the shifting sands of personal passion and caprice it is in constant danger of only adding to the hideous social wreckage of the divorce courts.

The Duties of Husbands to Wives. In Jesus' teachings the Golden Rule applies as equally within as without the family group. The one great difference is that those bound together by the marriage bond enjoy greater opportunities for loving service. A man's wife is his nearest "neighbour." Paul, in his first letter to the Christians at Thessalonica, supplements the gospel record of Jesus' teachings about the duty of husbands to wives (I. Thess. $4^{2, 3}$):

> You know the commands we laid upon you on the authority of the Lord Jesus, for it is God's will that you should be pure, that you abstain from sexual vice, and that each of you learn to take for himself a wife, who shall be his own, in purity and honour, not to gratify sexual passion as do the Gentiles, who have no knowledge of God.

Here we have another example of the knightly but eminently practical ideals which Jesus held up to guide the strong in their relations to the weak and to those dependent upon them. It is not enough to abstain from sexual immorality. Each Christian husband is under obligation to treat his wife in the intimate marital relations both honourably and considerately. In

this profound and much-needed teaching Jesus struck directly at one of the most frequent and insidious causes of divorce. The Christian husband, like the Master whom he serves, is called to protect not only the honour and purity of every woman, but pre-eminently to preserve the health and happiness of the one divinely intrusted to his knightly keeping. In performing this sacred trust, intelligent, devoted love, not passion, should be his guide. If he follows this command, the home which he founds will prove an enduring corner-stone of the new social order which Jesus sought to establish.

The Duties of Children to Parents. Jesus evidently accepted the Old Testament teachings regarding the duties of children to parents. The earlier prophets and sages had dealt with this subject so fully that there was little to add. In one or two significant passages, however, Jesus reveals his convictions in regard to this important question. If the accepted chronology be correct, he himself devoted fully thirty years of his brief life to the faithful discharge of his filial obligations. Evidently in his thought no time limit was fixed to the responsibility which sons and daughters owed to their parents. Unlike the Pharisees, he placed this obligation above those of ceremonial religion. It was not the letter but the spirit of the old command which Jesus insisted should be observed. With hot indignation he turned upon the Pharisees who encouraged the people to bring gifts to the temple when they were really needed by those who had the first claim upon them (Mk. 7^{6-13}):

> And he said to them, 'Well did Isaiah prophesy about you hypocrites, as it is written:
>
> This people honoureth me with their lips,
> But their heart is far from me;
> Yet in vain do they worship me,
> Teaching doctrines which are only precepts of men.
>
> Disregarding the command of God, you hold to man's tradition.' And he went on to say to them: 'A fine thing it is for you to set aside God's command, that you may keep your own tradition! For Moses said, "Honour thy father and thy mother," and, "He

> who speaks evil of father or mother, let him surely die." But you say, "If a man says to his father or his mother, 'What I might have used to help thee is korban'" (*i. e.*, given to God), you no longer allow him to do anything for his father or his mother. Thus you set aside the word of God by your tradition, which you have handed down.'

Again Jesus' practical common sense is clearly revealed. The current conceptions of religion did not blind his eyes to the essential principle. Here, as at all times, he interpreted religion not in terms of ceremonial acts but of practical social service. The same fundamental principle is further illustrated by the familiar parable of the two sons (Mt. 21^{28-31a}):

> What do you think? A man had two sons; and going to the first, said, 'Son, go, work to-day in the vineyard.' And he answered, 'I will not'; but afterward he changed his mind and went. And going to the second, he spoke in the same way. And he answered, 'I will go, sir'; but he did not go. Which of the two did what his father wished? They say, 'The first.'

Jesus' Evaluation of the Industrially Dependent Classes in the Home. Jesus did not as a rule attack existing conditions. He chose rather to commend those which were good and to leave those which were evil to die a natural death. This attitude is well illustrated by his silence regarding the contemporary institution of slavery. For nearly ten centuries Israel's prophets and lawgivers had endeavoured to mitigate the evils of this inherited Semitic institution. Apparently among the Jews it had largely disappeared. Where it still existed in Hebrew families the condition of the slave was little different from that of the trusted household servant in the modern home. In the larger Roman world slavery was far more sinister. The fact that Jesus dealt only with the social problems immediately at hand still further explains his silence. No student of the gospels, however, can fail to see that the principles which he set forth struck a death-blow at the institution of slavery. His supreme estimate of the importance and possibilities of

each individual and the absolute necessity that society recognise these values undermined the very foundations on which this institution rested. Later Christian history has amply illustrated the truth of this statement. In so far as nations as well as individuals have accepted Jesus' estimate of the worth of the individual, they have abolished slavery, until, under the influence of Christianity, this institution in its ancient form has practically disappeared from the face of the earth.

Instead of the institution of slavery, two equally insistent problems remain in our modern social life: the one is the lot of the industrially dependent classes; the other, that of domestic servants. Of the two the latter to-day receives less attention, but in its far-reaching social influence the domestic problem is in many ways the more important. In our complex Western civilisation the need for domestic service is increasing rather than diminishing. The peace and efficiency of many homes are indissolubly bound up with it. The problem is complicated by the fact that the stigma of slavery still to a great extent rests upon domestic service. Unjust and unreasonable as is this fact, it must be frankly faced. Exposed to unusual temptations and looked down upon by society, the domestic-servant class as a whole presents not only a grave menace to the social morality of each Christian community and nation but also an insistent social problem.

Jesus' Solution of the Servant Problem. What does Jesus contribute to the solution of this problem? The full acceptance of his fundamental teaching regarding the importance and sanctity of each individual, however humble, at once transforms the attitude of every Christian and Christian community toward those who serve in what is considered a more menial capacity. Here is a moral and social therapeutic amply fitted to cure the ills and pernicious prejudices inherited from the Old World institution of slavery. When employers learn to look upon those who serve in their household, not as machines nor as a class, but as persons, the servant problem is more than half solved. But hitherto in this social field men have been

slowest to apply the principles of Jesus. In its ultimate analysis and application his teaching is supremely revolutionary. By his own example, as well as precept, he declares (Mt. $20^{27, 28}$):

> Whoever would become great among you must be your servant,
> And whoever would be first among you must be servant of all;
> And I am in your midst as one who serves.

In the truly Christian home, as well as in the Christian commonwealth, honour and preference and social standing should depend not upon inheritance nor individual ability nor occupation, but simply upon the capacity and willingness to serve. Viewed in the light of this principle, nothing in modern society is more absurd and unchristian than certain households in which the idle rich look with contempt on those who faithfully serve them. Measured by the democratic standards of Jesus, they who serve are the only aristocrats. Thus Jesus' teachings exalt the despised servant to a position of pre-eminence.

To the solution of the domestic problem Jesus contributed a third great principle, which is the ultimate solvent. Nowhere is the Golden Rule more needed than in establishing a working relation between employers and domestic servants. Employers alone cannot solve the servant problem. A theoretical appreciation of the importance of personality or of service is not sufficient. Both employers and those who serve them in the sacred circle of the home must be bound together by mutual respect, sympathy, and loyalty to each other's interests. When each is striving for the best interests and happiness of the other, the domestic problem cannot fail to be satisfactorily solved. Instead of suspicion and discontent and discord, the Christian virtues of confidence and helpfulness and loyalty will prevail, and make the home for all its members a place of joy and happiness—a fitting training-school for social citizens. Although exceedingly rare, there are fortunately a few such Christian homes in the world to-day which stand as signal demonstrations of the efficiency of Jesus' social principles when applied even to the vexatious domestic problem. Their life and their products

are so altogether attractive that they can but multiply, and only as they multiply will Jesus' ideal of the new and perfect social order be fully realised within the family.

Jesus' Conception of the Ideal Home. Viewed in the light of modern conditions, Jesus' teachings regarding the family and the home are intensely practical. He simply sought to establish normal human relationships. He demanded here, as elsewhere, the frank, whole-hearted recognition of mutual social obligations. He sought to conserve the highest interests of each and all, and to make clear that these interests are not antithetic but identical. Hence, he spoke not so much of rights as of obligations. His great teaching,

> It is more blessed to give than to receive,

applies equally within and without the home. As Kennedy, in his epoch-making play, "The Servant in the House," has made dramatically clear, the peacemaker, the whole-maker, the harmony-maker reigns supreme in the home, however unfavourable may be the conditions. This vivid play is in fact a superb illustration of the application of Jesus' principles to the problems of the modern home.

It is equally clear that Jesus regarded the home, not as the ultimate social group, but as the essential training-school for the development of social citizens. With his many-sided grasp of truth he warned his disciples against the danger of making loyalty to the home the one and supreme motive in their lives. He evidently had this danger in mind when he taught his followers (Lk. 14^{26}):

> If any one comes to me and hates not his father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.

It is evident that the word hate is here used hyperbolically, for no one taught men to love life more than did Jesus, and no one emphasised more strongly than he the importance of loyalty in the domestic relations. But in this striking declaration he

taught the equal and even greater importance of loyalty to the larger social unit, and of readiness to serve all men whenever and wherever opportunity offered. No one was more devoted to his kinsmen than was Jesus himself; but on one dramatic occasion, when his mother and brothers with misdirected zeal came, apparently to draw him away from his perilous public ministry, he improved the opportunity publicly to define kinship in the larger terms of humanity (Mk. 3^{32-35}):

> And the crowd was seated around him. And they said to him, 'Here are your mother and your brothers outside seeking you.' And he said to them in reply, 'Who are my mother and my brothers?' And looking around on those who were sitting in a circle about him, he said, 'Behold, here are my mother and my brothers! Whoever does the will of God, that one is my brother and sister and mother.'

Thus logically and almost imperceptibly in Jesus' thought and teachings his exalted conception of the perfect family merges into that of the new social order (the kingdom of God), in which all men and races live together as one happy, loyal family.

XXII

JESUS' TEACHINGS REGARDING THE STATE

The Political Situation in Jesus' Day. The political conditions at the beginning of the first Christian century were complex, and yet not entirely unlike those which exist in most modern countries. Rome, ruled by the Cæsars, was the supreme central authority. Although the principle of government which the empire embodied was despotic, it had nevertheless rendered inestimable services to humanity. Peace and ample opportunity for intercommunication and commerce were only a few of its great contributions to the welfare of the peoples over which it held sway. To many of the nations under its control Rome had granted a relative autonomy; but it was exceedingly jealous of any attempt on the part of the dependent states to secure larger freedom. Its rule was a paternal despotism, but woe to the leader or nation that defied its authority!

As the representative of Rome and of the Jewish people, Herod Antipas, the son of Herod the Great, ruled over Galilee and Perea. As long as he was loyal to Rome his authority was practically undisputed within his territory. Judea, under the control of the imperial procurators, came more directly under the rule of the Roman Emperor. All political power and responsibility had been taken out of the hands of the Jewish people. The perennial political question which agitated them was whether or not they should and could successfully defy the foreign conqueror who had wrested from them their freedom. The majority of them wisely answered this question in the negative, and submitted, though resentfully, to Rome. An active minority was ever seeking for an opportune moment at which to raise the standard of rebellion and to hazard all upon the chances of war. In Jesus' day it was more than dangerous,

therefore, it was foolhardy to discuss practical politics. It is obvious why his foes, eager to bring him under the suspicion of Rome and to undermine his authority with the people, were constantly seeking to force him to commit himself in regard to the great political questions of his day. It is equally easy to understand why he, with his large social vision, always avoided the traps which were thus set for him.

Within Judaism itself there were two political bodies. The one included the heads of the temple priesthood, who not only decided the many questions connected with the administration of the temple, but also sent their emissaries throughout the Jewish world to collect the annual poll-tax which every faithful Jew was compelled to pay for the support of this national shrine. The other executive body was the Sanhedrin, which within the ranks of Judaism administered and interpreted the Jewish law, supplementing it by additional enactments as the situation demanded. This was the supreme judicial, administrative, and legislative body in the Jewish world. Under the authority conferred on it by Rome, it even passed judgment upon civil and criminal questions. For the most part, however, it was simply the interpreter of the Jewish ceremonial and civil law. Although a Sadducee was its president, the majority of its members were Pharisees. It was, therefore, the official mouthpiece of Pharisaism, while the temple was ruled entirely by the priestly heads of the Sadducean party.

Jesus' Point of Approach to Political Questions. In no quicker way could he have destroyed his influence as a teacher and brought his career to a sudden and disastrous end than by arousing the political passions of his people. At the same time there are many indications that he was keenly interested in contemporary political conditions. His disciples and the people were constantly bringing to him information regarding passing events and asking his opinion, which ordinarily he appears to have offered freely (Lk. 13^{1-5}). At the same time he carefully avoided committing himself to a partisan position. He did so, not only for practical reasons, but because he was interested in motives and underlying principles rather than in political

parties and issues. He recognised that the form of government is subject to constant change, and that principles alone are eternal. It is evident that Jesus also built on the foundation laid by the earlier prophets, sages, and lawgivers of his race. In this field their teachings had been especially full and complete. Hence he had relatively little to add, but devoted himself to laying down broad yet far-reaching political principles which synthesise and supplement those proclaimed in concrete terms by his prophetic and priestly predecessors.

Jesus' Democracy. Jesus lived in an age when despotism was regnant; and yet he was the most thorough-going democrat that has appeared in human history. Even Plato's ideal Republic and the so-called Greek democracies were but extended oligarchies in which only the men of wealth, power, and ability exercised authority and were free and equal. In reality these commonwealths were essentially undemocratic, for at their foundation was a large dependent class which enjoyed neither freedom nor equality. The basis of Jesus' democracy was a practical as well as a theoretical recognition of the supreme importance of each individual, however humble or low in the social scale he might stand. It is impossible to think of Plato or Aristotle making friends with all classes as did Jesus. It is significant, however, that Jesus had little to say about the rights of man, but much about the responsibility of each individual. No man, woman, or child was so weak or inefficient or debased by sin that he did not strive to appeal to their sense of social responsibility. In most cases his appeal met with a worthy response. It is only gradually that through his eyes men are beginning to see that the essence of democracy is individual opportunity and responsibility. Under a despotism the despot assumes practically all responsibility as well as authority. In a true democracy not only the authority but the responsibility of government rests wholly upon the shoulders of the individual citizens. In a democracy no citizen, however humble, is exempt from this responsibility. As has been truly said, "Democracy is the political expression of the Golden Rule." As interpreted by Jesus, it means not only the rule of the people, by the people, for the people, but also that each citizen is working as

earnestly for the interests of his fellow citizens as he is for his own, and that he is in turn the object of their constant consideration and care.

Jesus set forth in clearest terms the basal democratic principle that the only valid ground for public honour and preferment is individual service in behalf of society. In a variety of parables he also taught that the claim to honour is not dependent so much upon the magnitude of the service as upon the spirit in which it is performed and its relation to the ability of the one who performs it. The real aristocrats are those who give their best and all, whether it be much or little, to the commonwealth. It was to impress this principle upon his disciples that Jesus approvingly called their attention to the poor widow casting her mite, and yet her whole, into the temple treasury. Here is a type of democracy well calculated to startle and appal the blatant advocates of equal rights for all—laggard and faithful toiler alike. It is the only democracy, however, which can endure and permanently supplant the older and firmly intrenched systems of social organisation. This is the type of democracy which has been the ideal and inspiration of the leaders in the modern republics which have shown the greatest power of endurance. It is an ideal which still awaits full realisation in human history. At the same time humanity's cumulative experience is demonstrating ever more clearly that this is the only form of social organisation which will completely conserve the welfare and happiness both of the individual and society.

The Rights and Duties of Rulers. Jesus was fully aware of the striking contrast between the prevailing ideals of government and his own. In one illuminating passage he brings this contrast into clear relief (Mk. 10^{42-44}):

> You know that they who are regarded as leaders of the Gentiles
> lord it over them,
> And their great men exercise authority over them!
> But it is not so among you:
> Nay, whoever would become great among you must be your servant,
> And whoever would be first among you must be servant of all.
> And I am in your midst as one who serves.

In the opening lines of this quotation a gentle irony is discernible which indicates that Jesus realised how precarious and even absurd was the basis of the authority upon which the lofty claims and pretensions of such rulers as Augustus, Tiberius, and Herod Antipas rested. To the democratic Teacher of Nazareth the whole existing political system seemed in many respects ludicrous. Even more absurd than that certain men claimed supreme authority was the fact that their fellows allowed these tyrants to lord it over them. In contrast, Jesus, as a true son of Israel, asserted in simplest and yet broadest terms the democratic ideals of his race: the supreme duty of those who rule is to serve their subjects. Only he who serves all most efficiently deserves the place of highest pre-eminence. In his characteristic way Jesus also added, in effect (*cf.* Jn. 13^{13-16}): "This is not a vague theory. I myself, in this fraternal community which is an example of the new social order, am a concrete illustration of the revolutionary social principle which I proclaim."

Jesus recognised that nothing was more undemocratic than the use of public office for self-aggrandisement. This is mere despotism under the guise of democracy. Ofttimes it is more pernicious than monarchical despotism, for it rests upon the nominal consent of the governed. Ordinarily Jesus used constructive rather than destructive methods. In one memorable instance, however (the cleansing of the temple), he employed the direct attack in order to uproot certain strongly established social evils. In so doing he adopted the methods of the earlier prophets. The incident is doubly significant because it is so exceptional. It is one of the few instances in which Jesus openly challenged and sought to reform the existing social order. It also furnishes a wholesome corrective to an abnormal and one-sided interpretation of his law of non-resistance. The social evil that he attacked was especially flagrant and insidious. The unprincipled ex-high priest Annas, the father-in-law of the high priest Caiaphas, was still the ruling spirit among the temple authorities. His record is thoroughly bad. In him and in the other members of his family the Romans had

found tools well adapted to their purpose. They, like the party of the Sadducees, of which they were the leaders, were selfish opportunists, working simply for their own interests. Contemporary Jewish records indicate that Annas himself had a bazaar of doves within the temple precincts from which he derived large revenues. These were extracted from the pockets of the poorer people, who were permitted by the law to offer doves in lieu of the more costly sacrifices. Undoubtedly the money-changers, who were allowed to set up their tables within the outer court of the temple, paid heavy graft to Annas and the other members of his family who administered the temple finances.

From the gospel narratives it is evident that Jesus struck an open blow at these iniquitous practices only after long deliberation and with a full understanding of what it meant to himself and to his cause. The money-changers and those who sold doves were really the agents of the high priests, who were the actual offenders. It is clear that Annas and his followers recognised that the blow was plainly directed against them, for they were the men who immediately challenged Jesus' authority. In retaliation for his bold act they began at once to conspire how they might encompass his death. In the clear light of the gospel narratives it is evident that Jesus finally met his end because he thus openly championed the rights of the oppressed masses against their rapacious rulers. In so doing he echoed the word of Jeremiah, who centuries before, almost at the cost of his life, had declared (Jer. 7^{11}) that the temple in his day had become a "den of robbers." It was probably the Court of the Gentiles, which as its name indicates was opened to Gentiles as well as Jews, that was being misused and desecrated to satisfy the greed of those who were responsible for its care. It was also in defense of the larger significance of the temple, which, in the words of II Isaiah 56^{7}, was divinely intended to be "a house of prayer for all the nations," that Jesus staked his life. The dramatic incident is recorded in Mark $11^{15b-19, 27-33}$:

> Then Jesus entered the temple, and began to drive out those who sold and those who bought in the temple; and overturned the

> tables of the money-changers, and the seats of those who sold doves; and he would not allow any man to carry a vessel through the temple. And he taught and said to them, 'Is it not written, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations? But you have made it a den of robbers!" ' And the chief priests and scribes heard it, and tried how they could destroy him; for they feared him, since all the crowd was astonished at his teaching. But whenever it was evening, they went outside the city.
>
> And they came again to Jerusalem. And as he was walking in the temple, the high priests, the scribes, and the elders came to him; and they said to him, 'By what authority are you doing these things? Or who gave you this authority to do these things?' And Jesus said to them, 'I will ask of you one question; answer me, and I will tell you by what authority I do these things. Was the baptism of John from heaven or from men? Answer me.' And they argued among themselves, saying, 'If we say, "From heaven"; he will say, "Why then did you not believe him?" But should we say, "From men"'—they feared the people, for all believed that John was truly a prophet. So they said, in reply to Jesus, 'We do not know.' Then Jesus said to them, 'Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things.'

Jesus demanded of rulers the same integrity and fidelity as he did of private individuals. Nothing could be more contrary to the spirit of his teaching than the insidious doctrine of Machiavelli (set forth in *The Prince*):

> It is necessary for a prince wishing to hold his own to know how to do wrong, and to make use of it or not according to necessity. . . . Those princes who have done great things have held good faith of little account, and have known how to circumvent the intellect of men by craft, and in the end have overcome those who have relied on their word.

In the Christian ethics the only difference between the ruler and the private citizen is that the former presumably has larger ability and therefore larger responsibility. The implication that a public official should be governed by a different code of morals is as pagan as it is insidious and unchristian.

The Duties of Citizens in the Book. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

authority but also of the valuable services which it had rendered and was still rendering to the peoples subject to it. For such service each citizen was under obligation to render a willing and proportionate return. In the social order which Jesus sought to establish, not the pretensions of those who rule nor the slavish adulation of their subjects, but the simple laws of honesty and fairness that govern man's relations to his fellow man prevail. Here is the basis of loyalty as simple and democratic as it is profound and altogether satisfying.

The Treatment of Criminals. Israel's prophets and lawgivers were rigorous in their counsel regarding society's treatment of the defiant criminal. In their eyes the two most heinous social crimes were murder and adultery. Of the two adultery was punished the more severely and by society as a whole. It was the great social crime. At the same time prophets like Hosea and the authors of the Deuteronomic codes were intent on placing the responsibility for this crime squarely on the shoulders of the guilty. They sought to shield the pitiable women who are the victims of men's lust and the scapegoats upon which the guilt of society rests. They likewise proclaimed divine forgiveness for the penitent wrong-doer. The author of the story of Cain recognised the glaring contrast between the divine and human attitude toward the criminal, but it remained for Jesus to synthesise and express the principles of divine forgiveness and redemption in concrete social terms. In so doing he solved one of the most difficult problems that confronts society. His teachings and work as a whole illustrate the principle which he proclaimed, namely, that the task of society is not merely to punish but to reclaim the criminal. Many of his followers, like Zaccheus and Matthew, the tax collectors, were witnesses to the practical validity of that principle.

A vivid illustration of Jesus' teaching regarding the treatment of criminals is preserved in the early narrative found in John 8^{1-11}. Its setting is the temple court during the passover festival, when the representatives of the Jewish race were assembled from all parts of the world. The scribes and Pharisees,

who figure prominently in the incident, were not only the acknowledged social and religious leaders of the race, but also the protagonists of the prevailing attitude toward the criminal. The chief actor was a woman proved guilty of the hideous crime of adultery. The scribes and Pharisees dragged her, perhaps from the adjoining court room of the Sanhedrin where her guilt had been proved and where the death sentence was about to be pronounced, and set her before Jesus. They said to him in effect: "The earlier laws of our race direct that this adulteress be publicly stoned to death by the outraged community. You proclaim a new social order. What do you say shall be done with such an arrant criminal?" The biblical narrative tells the story, however, far better than it can be retold:

> Early in the morning Jesus came again to the temple, and all the people came to him, and he sat down, and began to teach them. Then the scribes and the Pharisees bring a woman caught in adultery. And after they had placed her in the midst of the company, they say to him, 'Teacher, this woman has been caught in the very act of adultery. Now in the law Moses commanded us to stone such women. What then do you say?' And they said this to test him, that they might have something of which they might accuse him. But Jesus stooped down and began to write with his finger on the ground. And when they kept on asking him, he stood up, and said to them, 'Let him who is sinless among you fling the first stone at her.' And again he stooped down and went on writing with his finger on the ground. Now when they heard this, they went out, one by one, beginning with the oldest; and Jesus was left alone with the woman. Then he stood up and said to her, 'Woman, where are they? Did no one condemn thee?' And she said, 'No one, Master.' And Jesus said, 'Neither do I condemn thee. Go thy way. Henceforth sin no more.'

Jesus' delay in answering the question of his hostile critics is significant. He doubtless discerned their crafty and captious purpose, and the danger of being entrapped; but more than that he recognised the momentous importance of the issue involved. Usually his answers came quickly. In this case, however, he took time for careful deliberation. His action in writing with

his finger on the ground suggests profound meditation. He also wished to give his critics an opportunity for thought. But they meantime kept pressing the question. When his decision had been reached, he rose and confronted them. Again the knightly quality, that characterised all that he did, is revealed. His words also go to the heart of the whole problem of society's treatment of the criminal. Before the community inflicts the death penalty upon one of its members, let it be sure that it is not a party to the crime which it seeks to stamp out. As has been rightly said, the self-respecting, punctilious scribes and Pharisees who stood before him were probably not themselves guilty of adultery. They were the honoured pillars of Jewish society. Some of them were doubtless members of the supreme court of their nation. They represented, therefore, not merely themselves individually but also organised society—the society that makes possible such heinous crimes as the woman had committed. Jesus' reply apparently produced precisely the effect that he expected and desired. It aroused the latent social as well as individual conscience of these pillars of society. At the same time it created in their minds a new attitude toward the condemned criminal. They had nothing more to say about vengeance or punishment. Suddenly to their enlightened visions the time-honoured method of dealing with the criminal seemed inadequate and unjust. But instead of waiting to see what was Jesus' method, they fled the issue. In imagination one can see them departing, these representatives of an unjust and pernicious system of penology, the oldest and most experienced leading the way. When they were gone, Jesus turned to the cowering, sin-stained woman and illustrated by his attitude and words his new method of dealing with the criminal. He did not in the slightest palliate or excuse her crime. He did not shield her from the infamy and social ostracism which were the inevitable consequences of her act. These were her punishment. Perhaps they were harder for her to bear than quick death by stoning. Jesus also opened wide to her the door of opportunity and pointed out the way that led to a life of rectitude. More than that, he appealed to her to pursue that way

unswervingly. In other words, with all the means at his command he sought not to destroy nor merely punish, but to reform and reclaim her.

At last accepting his principle and inspired by his spirit, society has begun to perfect the methods and agencies whereby those who are socially lost may be reclaimed. The most fruitful social progress of the future undoubtedly lies along this line, for the present generation is rapidly awakening to the fact that Jesus' method of reclaiming rather than simply punishing the criminal is as sound economically as it is morally. At the same time Jesus' social principles, when thoroughly applied, leave no place in society for the breeding of criminals. In a truly Christian civilisation prevention rather than redemption is the final solution of the problem of the criminal.

Jesus' Teachings Regarding War. During the opening decades of the present century men have turned with feverish interest to the gospels for a final answer as to the right or wrong of war. Different individuals and classes have found there the most diverse answers. Jesus lived in an age when wars were regarded as inevitable. A period of prolonged peace was then so exceptional that it provoked wide-spread comment. He himself warned his disciples that they would hear of wars and rumours of wars. It is clear that he did not expect war to disappear suddenly from the face of the earth any more than the tares from the grain-fields. To make clear to his followers how revolutionary and aggressive was the new social gospel which he proclaimed, he declared (Mt. 10^{34}):

> I came not to bring peace but a sword.

His words are clearly hyperbolic, although at many later periods in the history of the Christian church they have proved all too literal. The sword which he probably had in mind was the inevitable persecution that awaited his followers, if they proved loyal to the task intrusted to them.

One fact stands out clearly: Jesus never for a moment encouraged the use of the sword in his own defense or in the fur-

therance of his cause. The most striking illustration of this fact is his command to his disciple to sheathe the sword which he had drawn in order to defend his Master from the hostile mob that had come out to arrest him (Mt. 26^{52}). Throughout his public ministry and especially during the last week at Jerusalem he constantly exemplified his principle of non-resentment and (as far as he himself was concerned) of absolute non-resistance. By adhering to this principle, even though it led to the cross, he won for his cause a victory the significance and magnitude of which the world is at last beginning to appreciate. Most of Christianity's lasting victories have also been won through forgiveness and non-resistance.

At the same time, when the rights of others were endangered, Jesus did not hesitate to use force when all other means had failed. Throughout his public career to the closing days he tried by friendship and teaching to open the eyes of the Pharisaic leaders of his race to the larger social conception of religion; but they persistently refused to believe that any good could come out of Nazareth. When at last he recognised that his earlier methods had failed, he unsparingly arraigned these enslavers of the people (Mt. $23^{13, 23a, 25, 27}$):

> Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!
> For you shut the kingdom of heaven in men's faces,
> And you enter not yourselves and you will not let those enter who are entering.
>
> Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!
> For you tithe mint and dill and cummin,
> But you have left undone the weightier matters of the law: justice, mercy, and faithfulness.
>
> Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!
> For you cleanse the outside of the cup and plate,
> But inside you are filled with extortion and indulgence.
>
> Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!
> For you are like white-washed sepulchres
> Which outwardly appear beautiful,
> But inwardly are filled with dead men's bones and all uncleanness.

Communities and nations are but social groups, separated by imaginary boundary lines, yet subject to the same moral and social laws as the individuals who compose them. The same royal law of love applies to Christian nations as to the individual citizen. They are under as solemn obligation to conserve the highest interests of their fellow nations as their own. A nation, in even a larger sense than the individual, is the champion of the dependent. Therefore as long as defiantly lawless nations ruthlessly seek to trample on the weak, Christian nations have felt compelled, when all others methods failed, to resort to war. War, however, has no abiding-place in the new social order that Jesus proclaimed, and war between two nations which fully accept his social principles will ultimately become impossible. The law of love eliminates deception and distrust and false ambition and hatred and all the malign emotions that beget war. Instead it establishes justice and brotherliness and mutual helpfulness as the invincible forces binding together nations as well as individuals. Jesus did not deny the service which Rome had accomplished by bringing peace and order to the world. He apparently did not advocate the immediate disbanding of the armies and police forces of the world. But he did proclaim to humanity a better way of securing peace than by force. He declared by word and by example that love is far more potent than the sword. He taught the power of active non-resistance, of a love which is not merely passive but by acts of service wins the gratitude and devotion of the would-be aggressor. The supreme question, therefore, of the twentieth century is whether or not nations will follow the Leader whom they nominally acknowledge, and in all their international relations substitute the law of love for that of force.

XXIII

THE RULE OR KINGDOM OF GOD

Jesus' Use of the Term Kingdom of God. It is a suggestive fact that in the early narrative of Mark the term kingdom of God is used only once by Jesus during the earlier part of his ministry. After his work had been established in Galilee the use of the term is increasingly frequent until it becomes most common in his closing addresses during the last week at Jerusalem. Does this mean that Jesus' conception of the kingdom only gradually crystallised? Or is it possible that, as he avoided the popular term Messiah, he also avoided using kingdom of God during the earlier part of his ministry because it had a firmly fixed meaning in the minds of the people which he did not fully accept? The two possibilities are not necessarily exclusive. Furthermore, the term, like the kinetic word Messiah, was inflammable. He who used it in public was in constant danger of bringing down upon his head the heavy hand of Rome, which was acutely suspicious of any other rule than its own. The Aramaic word commonly translated *kingdom* meant, literally, *rule* or *dominion*. It was derived from the same root as the Hebrew word for king. The kingdom of God, therefore, meant the reign or rule of God. Inasmuch as in Jesus' day the Jews strenuously avoided the use of all direct titles of the deity, the term heaven, as in I Maccabees (*cf.* I Mac. 2^{21} ,$3^{50, 60}$), was commonly substituted for God or Jehovah. Under the influence of this tendency the author of Matthew's gospel habitually prefers the term kingdom of heaven.

With the true instincts of a teacher, Jesus knew well the value of a dynamic watchword. He fully appreciated the potentialities of the popular phrase kingdom of God. It at once ar-

rested the interests and kindled the enthusiasm of every son of Abraham. It embodied the loftiest aspirations of his race. It was the goal toward which all were eagerly looking. Historically it represented the finest elements in Israel's social ideal. As interpreted by many of the earlier prophets, it was world-wide in its outlook and reached from the present out into the limitless future. It was a term, therefore, well calculated to lead men out of their selfish individualism and to bind them together in united social effort. At the same time it was a term which had been very differently defined by Israel's early teachers. To the minds of the different men and women to whom Jesus spoke it conveyed a great variety of meanings. There was a certain vagueness and mystery about it which were fascinating but at the same time confusing. Therefore, at first Jesus apparently used this magic term only sparingly. Then, as his marvellous work in Galilee crystallised his convictions, he devoted his attention more and more to defining in the minds of his disciples the rich content of this historic term, which he employed to represent his own ultimate social ideal.

Popular Jewish Conceptions of the Kingdom of God. In Jesus' day the term kingdom of God conveyed almost as many different meanings to different minds as does the modern term Socialism. All were agreed that it stood for a new social order in which the present tyranny and corruption should disappear and the principles of justice and righteousness prevail. The Zealots and probably a large proportion of the people of Galilee expected it to take form in an earthly kingdom, with its capital at Jerusalem, which would conquer and absorb the all-embracing Roman empire. Many of them were ready and eager to unsheathe the sword against Rome in order speedily to bring about this longed-for consummation. The Pharisees and the more intelligent leaders of Judaism, who were fully aware of the impossibility of throwing off the Roman yoke by use of force, cherished and promulgated the belief that the kingdom of God would be miraculously established. The book of Daniel voices this expectation most clearly (Dan. 2^{44}):

> The God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty be left to another people; but it shall break in pieces and destroy all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever.

Some believed that the Messiah was to be the divine agent who would inaugurate this new era. Thus the author of the Psalter of Solomon in 17[23] prays:

> Behold, O Lord, and raise up to them their king, in the time which thou, O God, knowest, that he may reign over Israel, thy servant. . . . He shall destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth . . . and he shall gather together a holy people.

Others believed with the author of the book of Daniel that God himself would miraculously interpose and suddenly and supernaturally and through Israel's patron angel establish his kingdom and the rule of his people over all mankind (Dan. 7[13, 14]):

> I saw in the night visions, and behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like to a son of man, and he came even to the aged One, and was brought near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory and sovereignty, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his sovereignty one which shall not be destroyed.

Some, like the earlier ethical prophets and sages, undoubtedly believed that the inauguration of the kingdom would be natural and evolutionary rather than catastrophic and revolutionary, and that the ultimate transformation would be social and moral rather than supernatural and political. To this group probably belonged many of the followers of Hillel and John the Baptist. Many, undoubtedly, confused these kaleidoscopic hopes. A majority of the people of Galilee, and even Jesus' immediate followers, continued to cling to the Pharisaic belief in a temporal kingdom to be miraculously established at Jerusalem. This hope was doubtless instilled into the mind of

Jesus from his earliest day. Certain modern scholars hold that he never rejected it and that he encouraged his disciples to hold it. This much-debated question must be decided in the light of the testimony of Jesus' own words and acts.

Jesus' Own Conception of the Rule or Kingdom of God. Jesus never employed abstract definitions, but by the use of direct statement and parable he earnestly endeavoured to make perfectly clear what he meant by the kingdom of God. Luke $17^{20, 21}$ contains an exceedingly illuminating statement:

> Now on being questioned by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God was to come, he answered them and said, 'The kingdom of God comes not with observation, nor shall men say, "Behold, here it is," or "There!" For behold, the kingdom of God is within you.'

Even though a group of German scholars have stoutly maintained that Jesus was but an ecstatic dreamer who shared the popular expectations, it is evident from these words that he rejected the current Pharisaic teaching regarding the character of the kingdom of God and the way in which it was to be inaugurated. In the plainest possible terms he declared that it was not something objective, an earthly kingdom with a capital at Jerusalem, and with an organisation and administration whose representatives and achievements men could view with their own eyes, as they could those of the Roman empire. Nor was it to be suddenly and miraculously inaugurated. Rather the ultimate rule of God which he came to proclaim is not something temporal or material but is established in the minds and wills of men. It is a personal attitude which determines each man's way of acting and living and therefore, through the individual, the very character and structure of society. The words translated "within you" are interpreted in keeping with the prevailing use of this phrase in the Greek translation of the Old Testament. In classical Greek the phrase means "in your midst." In whichever sense it was used by Jesus, it conveys the same essential thought that it was then existent—not a mere distant hope. In the light of his teaching

as a whole, the kingdom of God, as he would define it, is the attitude of trust and love and loyalty toward God and men which results from a full acceptance of his principles of thinking and living.

The Two Corner-Stones of Jesus' Conception of the Kingdom of God. The individual basis of Jesus' conception of the kingdom is well illustrated by his familiar teaching found in Mark 10^{13-16}:

> And they were bringing little children to Jesus, that he might touch them; but the disciples rebuked them. But when Jesus saw it, he was indignant, and said to them, 'Let the little children come to me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. I tell you truly, Whoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall by no means enter it.' Then he put his arms around them and blessed them, as he laid his hands on them.

Childlike trust is the first essential if a man is to be a loyal subject of his divine King. The illustration suggests the close connection in Jesus' mind between the conception of God as king and as father; between citizenship and sonship. It strongly suggests that the exact meaning of the phrase kingdom of God had not yet been fixed in the popular mind, but rather needed clear interpretation. Jesus would probably have been content to have taught the fatherhood of God and to have held up the extended idea of the family as the complete social ideal. As it was, he marvellously blended and combined those two ideas. In the original Lucan version of the prayer which he taught his disciples he brought the two figures into the closest possible relation (Lk. 11^{2}):

> Father, thy name be hallowed.
> Let thy kingdom come.

At the same time Jesus appreciated fully the large social value of the phrase kingdom of God. It crystallised all the inherited devotion and loyalty of his race; it emphasised not merely the individual, but also the collective attitude of self-

sacrifice and united effort; it was not limited to the individual or to a fraternal community, but reached out to all mankind. To develop what is finest in the individual man there must be not merely love and loyalty to a divine Father and King, but also to the social order, which is the realisation of the divine purpose in the world. The term kingdom of God represented loyalty to these two objects; it synthesised the religious and the social motive. Jesus' use of this pregnant phrase well illustrates his constant endeavour to gather up his kindred teachings in one brief, never-to-be-forgotten statement.

Interpreted in the light of Jesus' teachings as a whole, Matthew 6[33] contains the profoundest and at the same time the most practical social principle ever enunciated. The statement of this principle is prefaced by a series of homely yet convincing arguments intended to free man from harassing, wasteful anxiety by establishing an intellectual basis for complete trust (Mt. 6[28-32]):

> Why then be anxious about what you wear?
> Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow;
> They toil not, neither do they spin.
> Yet I tell you that even Solomon
> In all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.
> Now if God doth thus clothe the grass of the field,
> Which to-day lives and to-morrow is thrown into the oven,
> Shall he not much more clothe you, O men of little faith?
> Be not anxious then and say,
> 'What are we to eat, or to drink, or how are we to be clothed?'
> (For after all these things the Gentiles seek)
> For your heavenly Father knoweth that you require all these.

The whole teaching is then summed up by Jesus in one positive, comprehensive command (Mt. 6[33]):

> But seek first his kingdom and his righteousness,
> And all these things shall also be given you.

Here is a challenge well calculated to test a man's courage and philosophy. It calls upon him to abandon his selfish

quest of mere things. More than that, it asks him to make the will of God and the realisation of that righteous will in human society the ruling aim in all that he thinks and feels and does. After he has begun to seek first the kingdom of God he will continue to do much the same things as before. He will probably go on working to secure food and clothing for himself and for those dependent upon him; but the impelling impulses will no longer be selfish. Instead, they will be in the highest sense religious and social. Instead of crushing his personality, Jesus asks him to express that personality in the largest possible way. Henceforth he is a peacemaker, a whole-maker, a tireless worker for harmony and completeness in the home, in civic life, in the state, and in the world. Above all, this intensely practical command supplies, as the motive power in his daily thought and action, not a mercenary reward—although Jesus states the profound truth that all the really good things of life will surely come to him who undertakes this great adventure—but a perfectly natural and spontaneous love for the supreme Source of all love and life and a loyal devotion to the highest interests of the society of which he is a part. Herein is life, indeed, for it means perfect adjustment to a man's divine and human environment.

Entering the Kingdom of God. With true psychological insight Jesus recognised that a great transformation was necessary if the ordinary man was to undertake this great adventure. Most of a man's inherited instincts, his firmly fixed habits, and the conventional ideas which he shared with his contemporaries stood squarely in his way. To acquire this new attitude, that is, to "enter the kingdom of God," required a supreme act of will of which the majority of men would prove incapable. This fact, as well as the other truth that the privileges of the kingdom are open to all, is dramatically taught by the following story (Lk. $14^{1a, 15-24}$):

> And it came to pass that Jesus went into the house of one of the rulers of the Pharisees to eat, and one of the guests said to him, 'Happy is the man who eats bread in the kingdom of God.' But he said to him, 'A certain man was giving a great supper, and had

invited many people. And he sent forth his servants at supper time to say to those who had been invited, "Come; for things are now ready." Then they all alike began to make excuses. The first said to him, "I have bought a field and must go and see it. I pray, excuse me." And another said, "I have bought five pair of oxen and I am on my way to try them. I pray, excuse me." And another said, "I have married a wife and therefore I cannot come." So the servant came and told these things to his master. Then the master of the house in anger said to his servant, "Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in here the poor and the crippled, the blind and the lame." And the servant said, "Sir, what you have commanded has been done; yet there is still room." And the master said to the servant, "Go out into the roads and the hedges and compel the people to come in, that my house may be filled. For I tell you, not one of those men who were invited shall taste of my supper." '

We have already noted Jesus' keen analysis of the insidious spell which wealth casts about the individual. It weakens the sense of dependence and tends to crystallise the childish desire for things. In the light of the story of the rich young man and his rejection of Jesus' heroic measure, it is easy to understand the facts which may have led Jesus to utter the beatitude which Luke alone has preserved (Lk. 6^{20b}):

> Happy are you poor,
> For yours is the kingdom of God.

Recognising how difficult it is for men to break with their habitual methods of thinking and living and to "enter the kingdom of God," he endeavoured by a series of striking pictures to arouse them to an appreciation of the importance of taking this decisive step. The Palestinian farmers, as they ploughed their fields, which ofttimes extended over the ruins of ancient cities, were in constant hope of discovering hidden treasure. For them he used one type of illustration. For the merchants he used another figure to impress upon them the fact that, while loyalty to the kingdom costs, it is well worth the cost (Mt. 13^{44-46}):

> The kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hid in a field which a man found and hid. In his joy over it, he goes, sells all he has, and buys that field. Again, the kingdom of heaven is like a merchant who is seeking fine pearls. Upon finding a pearl of great price, he went off and sold all that he had, and bought it.

Jesus' observation also taught him that not those who regard themselves as morally righteous but those who have plunged deepest into moral degradation are most conscious of their spiritual needs and therefore are often the first to respond to the call to the higher love and loyalty. He illustrated this fact by the story of the prayers of the Pharisee and the tax collector in the temple and also by the story of the way in which each of the two sons responded to their father's call to duty (Mt. 21^{28-32}):

> What do you think? A man had two sons; and going to the first he said, 'Son, go, work to-day in the vineyard.' And he answered, 'I will not'; but afterward he changed his mind and went. And going to the second, he spoke in the same way. And he answered, 'I will go, sir'; but he did not go. Which of the two did what his father wished? They say, 'The first.' Jesus said to them, 'I tell you truly, the tax collectors and sinners shall enter the kingdom of God before you. For John came to you in the way of righteousness, yet you did not believe him. But the tax collectors and harlots believed him. And when you saw it, you did not even change your minds afterward, that you might believe him.'

The Relation of the Kingdom to Existing Society. Jesus was no mere social dreamer. His teachings prove themselves to be the outgrowth of close and sympathetic observation and deep personal experience. He did not, like many of the contemporary teachers of his race, hold up social ideals that could be realised only in some distant, indefinite future. He built squarely on society as he found it. The question of how the present society could be transformed so as to conform to the ideals of the kingdom of God was one in which he was intensely interested and which he recognised must be frankly met. His

answer is found in certain familiar parables drawn from the every-day life of the people. In the first place, he taught with superbly practical as well as prophetic insight that although its beginning would be very small and insignificant it would go on quietly growing until it should become a mighty factor in the universe (Mt. 13[31, 32]):

> The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed which a man took and sowed in his field. Though smaller than all other seeds, yet when it grows it is greater than herbs and becomes a tree, so that the birds come and lodge in its branches.

He taught also that men are needed to provide the conditions and to plant in human consciousness the germinal principles of the kingdom, but that, when this preliminary work has been done, these principles will constantly develop and spread, for they meet universal human needs and find in the heart of man the natural soil in which to take root. Furthermore, he taught that the extension as well as the inauguration of the kingdom would not be revolutionary but evolutionary:

> First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear.

This was one of the many positive ways in which Jesus quietly rejected the popular conception of the kingdom as a new social order which was to be suddenly, supernaturally, and catastrophically inaugurated. The ingathering comes only after a long process of natural growth (Mk. 4[26-29]):

> The kingdom of God is as if a man should cast seed upon the earth, and sleep and rise by night and day, while the seed sprouts and springs up—he knows not how. The earth bears crops of itself, first the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear; but when the crop is ripe, he has the sickle put in at once, because the harvest has come.

Jesus also taught that the ideals of the kingdom are all-pervasive. They are known by their effects rather than

through their process of working, for that process is not external but in the lives and minds of men. They quietly transform all whom they touch until in the end society as a whole is to be leavened (Lk. 13[20, 21]):

> The kingdom of God is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, until the whole was leavened.

Nowhere in the gospels is Jesus' world-wide outlook and his conviction that the social principles which he proclaimed were to transform all society more clearly expressed than in this homely little parable.

In the light of Jesus' intimate knowledge of the human heart, he was fully aware that two difficult problems would assail his followers. The one was that which troubled the soul of the heroic author of the book of Job: if God is good, why does he allow evil to flourish? The other, from a practical point of view, is even more perplexing: how is the loyal citizen of the kingdom of God to live the perfect life in the midst of an imperfect world?

In the parable of the good seed and the tares Jesus offers illuminating suggestions regarding the solutions of both these problems. He does not attempt to explain why God has permitted evil to flourish in the world. It is simply a part of the nature of things, and he quietly assumes that what is is best. Also he teaches that evil is but an impermanent element in the universe: the good alone will permanently survive. Meantime it is possible for the ideals of the kingdom to germinate and spread, even though they come into constant contact and competition with evil forces. Even so, the individual man can be loyal to God and to the ideals of the kingdom in a society which contains many who do not recognise this higher loyalty. Jesus does not for a moment deny the fact that the presence of these disloyal elements makes it far more difficult for his followers to "seek first the kingdom of God." He himself knew this by painful experience. So also his early apostles, who faced persecution and death; so also every man to-day

who "seeks first the kingdom of God" in the midst of a society that is only partially Christianised. To the fishermen in his audience he taught these great truths by the use of the parable of the net which gathered in all kinds of fish; to the farmers he told the story of the good seed and the tares (Mt. 13^{24-30}):

> Another parable he set before them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is compared to a man who sowed good seed in his field, but while men were asleep, his enemy came and sowed tares also among the wheat and went away. Now when the blade sprouted and brought forth fruit, the tares appeared also, and the servant of the master of the house came and said to him, 'Sir, did you not sow good seed in your field? How then does it contain tares?' And he said to them, 'An enemy has done this.' The servants said to him, 'Will you have us go then and gather them?' But he said, 'No, lest while you are gathering the tares, you might root up the wheat with them. Let both of them grow together until the harvest; then at the harvest time I will say to the reapers, "Gather the tares first, and bind them in bundles for burning; but gather the wheat into my barn."'

The Realisation of Jesus' Ideal of the Kingdom in Society. Jesus taught in unmistakable terms that the realisation of his social ideal was not left to some distant future, although he himself was keenly alive to the fact that its complete realisation lay far beyond the immediate horizon. As we have already noted, his work in Galilee and Jerusalem indicates clearly that he ardently desired during his lifetime to present to his race a concrete illustration of the transformation which his social teachings, when accepted by the members of a typical community, would effect. This purpose explains his tireless zeal; it throws new light on the call and training of his disciples and his successful endeavours to build up a fraternal community in the greater Capernaum. His was not an esoteric social doctrine. He sought to realise his ideal of the kingdom, not in the lives of a few gifted followers apart from the great currents of national life, but through ordinary men and women and children, citizens of a typical Palestinian city. In large measure

Jesus was able, in the face of supreme odds and during an exceedingly brief period, to effect this practical demonstration of the application of his social principles. The leaven that was planted in the teeming community which lay on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee had quietly but rapidly spread until it had begun to transform the entire mass. Jesus had hoped that this transformation would be even more rapid and complete, but the reality was in itself as marvellous as it was significant. Within less than a decade after his death the tiny mustard-seed that had been sown in the rocky soil of Palestine had begun to grow into a great tree with many branches, under which Gentiles as well as Jews, ignorant pagans as well as learned Greeks, found rest and shelter.

Jesus imposed upon the children of the kingdom (those who have accepted his attitude of complete loyalty toward God and their fellow men) no external organisation except what their simple daily needs required; no bonds, except the supreme obligation to be perfect even as their heavenly Father is perfect, to do to others as they would have them do to them, and to seek first and always the kingdom of God. He taught them to pray,

> Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven,

and thus held up ever before them as the goal of all their efforts a perfect social order. But while he taught them that the complete realisation of the ideals of the kingdom lay in the future, its beginning and the progressive realisation of these ideals are here and now. The imperfections of existing society are only the tares which divine wisdom allows to survive, even though they are but the remnants of an older world order which is doomed to destruction. Meantime, the principles of the kingdom are at work in the hearts of men, transforming their motives and therefore their acts and characters, and thereby like leaven permeating all society. Men who see merely through the physical eye cannot say of the kingdom, "'Behold, here it is!' or 'There!'" But he who can look beyond externals to

the real can see not only that the kingdom of God is already established in the hearts of countless thousands, but that its leaven is even now slowly but certainly transforming the whole mass of society.

PART IV

THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF JESUS' FOLLOWERS

XXIV

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

The Effect of Jesus' Death upon His Followers. The New Testament contains a threefold record of the social teachings of Jesus. The fullest but the latest to be committed to writing is that found in the four gospels. The oldest is the reflection of Jesus' work and teachings in Paul's epistles. In many ways the most significant record is the life of the primitive Christian communities that were the direct outgrowth of the loyal brotherhood which Jesus had built up at Capernaum. The supreme test of his social teachings came immediately after his death. Up to the closing days of his ministry even his most intimate disciples were still obsessed with the current material Jewish idea of the kingdom of God, as is shown by the request of James and John (Mk. $10^{35\text{-}40}$). So persistent was this popular hope that after Jesus' death it reappeared in the expectation, widely held by his followers, that he would speedily come again to realise in a supernatural and objective way the popular hopes of his race.

Jesus' crucifixion at the instigation of unprincipled foes at first smote his disciples with dismay and fear. As the oldest records indicate, panic-stricken they fled back to their homes in Galilee. A wave of despair seems for a moment to have submerged them. Then amidst the old environment and associations there came, first to Peter and then to all of them, those unique and transcendent experiences through which they became vividly conscious of Jesus' immediate presence as a living leader. A mighty purpose took the place of despair. Not singly, but as a united brotherhood, they returned to Jerusalem

to live in the capital and centre of Judaism, the communal life which he had taught them.

The Reasons Why Jesus' Followers Returned to Jerusalem after His Death. The return of Jesus' disciples to Jerusalem within a few days after his crucifixion was a bold, seemingly impracticable venture. The Jewish authorities who had put their Master to death were still in control. Jewish fanaticism was strongest in Jerusalem. The Roman officials viewed with suspicion any unusual religious movements. Above all, the homes of the majority and the occupations whereby they were able to support themselves were found in Galilee rather than Judea. What were the motives which inspired them? The first was undoubtedly the belief that Jesus would speedily reappear to establish his rule in Jerusalem. They, as his immediate followers, were eager to be present there in order to participate in it. This motive, however, was not alone sufficient to hold them in Jerusalem in the face of disillusionment and persecution. The deeper reason was clearly because Jesus himself in the closing days of his ministry had led them up to Jerusalem and established there, in the very heart of Judaism, the centre of their communal life. The only motive that really explains their unusual action is their loyalty to the mission that he had left them. It was because they felt that they were the leaven which must leaven the whole mass of Judaism and that they could do their task better in the capital and temple city as the centre than in Galilee or Samaria, where they would fail to touch the streams of Jewish pilgrims which radiated from Jerusalem to the ends of the civilised world. Events quickly demonstrated the truth of their conviction.

The Personnel and Organisation of the Jerusalem Community. The narrative in the opening chapter of Acts states that at first a hundred and twenty of Jesus' followers rallied at Jerusalem. The nucleus of this brotherhood were the eleven disciples who had been associated most closely and constantly with him. To their number were now added the immediate kinsmen of Jesus, who were among the first of the new con-

verts to be drawn into the community by the enthralling vision of his abiding presence. The Jerusalem community evidently included men, women, and children. Its constituent elements were those that could be found in any typical community of Palestine. Practically all classes were represented: peasants, tax collectors, fishermen, students, members of the royal household of Herod, rich and poor. The majority apparently belonged to the middle working classes. The one respect in which it differed from other contemporary communities was in its organisation and life. While their Master had been among them he had been the common link which had bound them all together. Now they drew more closely to each other and found in their communal life the inspiration which they needed.

At first their organisation was very simple. As in the Jewish synagogue in which all of them had been trained, questions of policy were apparently referred to the elders. These were simply the older men in the community who represented the various families. In deciding important questions the words of Jesus' immediate disciples naturally carried great weight, but the evidence is conclusive that far down into the first Christian century the organisation and spirit of these Christian communities was absolutely democratic. As has been truly said:

> History furnishes no more perfect example of an absolute democracy.

Every important question was referred to the community as a whole and each member had a voice in deciding it. The organisation of the Christian communities developed simply as their needs required. When it was found that the families of certain of the Jewish converts to Christianity, who had returned from the lands of the dispersion and were therefore not in as close touch with their countrymen as were those who had always resided in Palestine, were being neglected in the distribution of food, seven of their number were selected by common consent to see that the needs of this neglected class were fully supplied. While the duties of the seven were similar to those

of the later deacons they were by no means identical. Described in modern terms the seven were a special committee intrusted with a definite task. The individual ability, not the office, quickly won for them a prominence which overshadowed that of Jesus' intimate disciples. The author of the book of Acts is inclined to exalt the authority of the twelve apostles, but the indications in the oldest records are clear that their functions were simply advisory and that all important decisions were made by the community as a whole.

By the middle of the first Christian century each community appears to have had its episcopus, or bishop, whose duties were closely similar to that of the modern pastor. One of his chief functions was to act as the agent of the community in supplying the needs of the poor and sick and dependent. Associated with him as assistants in this work were the deacons, or ministers. The corresponding service for the women was at first intrusted to certain widows, who were selected for the task, and later to the deaconesses. In keeping with the spirit and teachings of their Master, those who exercised authority and enjoyed a special honour were thus exalted simply because of their ability to serve and to be the ministers of all. Until the close of the first Christian century the organisation of these Christian communities was in every sense simple, democratic, and fraternal.

The Spirit of Brotherhood in the Early Christian Communities. The strength of these early Christian communities was their spirit of brotherhood. The love which Jesus had inspired within them broke down all social barriers, even that of slave and master. They felt themselves to be simply a large family and regarded each other as brothers not only in name but in reality. The author of Acts 2 declares:

> The believers all kept together. . . . Day after day they resorted with one accord to the temple and broke bread together in their own homes.

The morning and midday meals with most Orientals were incidental and eaten wherever and whenever appetite and op-

portunity came to them. The evening repast was the one important meal of the day. Far down into the second century the members of these primitive Christian fraternities continued to eat it together. It was the agape or love-feast, which ever kept fresh in their minds the memory of the meals which Jesus ate together with his disciples and above all the last memorable supper at Jerusalem.

There are many indications in the writings of the early Church Fathers that this evening meal was characterised by its good fellowship. Mirth and jollity were not lacking. In some quarters it later fell into disrepute through the tendency of certain of the brothers to indulge in excesses and to misuse its privileges. It is evident that in the primitive church this common fraternal life was one of the powerful uniting bonds that held them together and made their influence irresistible in a world in which there were countless thousands yearning for the joys of brotherhood and for social alignment with their fellows. Down into the second century even heathen critics continued to exclaim: "How they love one another!" and to comment on the fact that they not only called but treated each other as brothers.

Paul and the early Christian writers frankly tell us that there were many who failed to realise this brotherly ideal, but the dominant spirit in each community was that of their Master, who declared:

> You are all brothers. Let him who would be first among you be servant of all.

Each community was a fraternity, supremely rich in good will and fellowship, exemplifying the modern definition of brotherliness: "love on a footing of equality."

The Economic Basis of the Early Christian Communities. The author of Acts $2^{44, 45}$ declared:

> The Jerusalem Christians shared all they had with one another; they would sell their possessions and goods and distribute the proceeds among all as any one might be in need.

From this and similar passages it has sometimes been inferred that they lived together on a communistic basis. It seems clear from the gospel narratives that during Jesus' lifetime he and his immediate disciples shared a common purse; but the earliest evidence in the book of Acts indicates conclusively that the economic life of the Jerusalem community was not regulated by an arbitrary, communistic principle but by the more powerful forces of brotherly love and of loyalty to the fraternal community which Jesus had inspired in the hearts of his followers. The economic needs of the Jerusalem community were great and insistent, for most of its members were peasants or fishermen or Jews from distant lands who were unable to derive an income through their ordinary occupation. The situation, therefore, called for supreme sacrifice on the part of those who had possessions. The majority met the test. Thus we are told that Barnabas, who was a Jewish native of Cyprus, "sold a farm belonging to him and brought the money and placed it at the apostles' feet" (Acts $4^{36, 37}$). It is definitely stated in Acts $4^{34, 35}$:

> There was not a needy person among them, for those who owned houses or lands sold them and brought the proceeds of the things which were sold and laid them at the apostles' feet. It was then distributed to every one as each individual had need.

In the familiar story of Ananias and his wife Sapphira their sin is not the breach of any written or unwritten communistic law, but their endeavour to gain credit for generosity which was not genuine. Peter's words to Ananias are convincing evidence that no such law was in existence (Acts 5^{4a}):

> While the land remained unsold was it not your own? And even after it was sold was it not at your disposal?

The records of the rich and powerful Christian community at Antioch confirm this conclusion. We are told in Acts $11^{29, 30}$ that at the time of the great famine in Palestine (46–48 A.D.):

> The disciples each as he was able decided to send relief to the brothers living in Judea. This they did, sending their contributions to the presbyters by Barnabas and Saul.

It was not until the second and third Christian centuries, as the concomitant of monasticism, that communistic ideas began to creep into the church. Thus, the Epistle of Barnabas (which may be dated about 100 A.D.) commands:

> You shall share all things in common with your neighbour; you shall not call things your own; for if you are partakers in common of things that are incorruptible, how much more of those things that are corruptible?

Later it was asserted by the Church Fathers that

> possession in common, that is, equal ownership, is a natural and original order of things. What the poor ask is not yours, but their own.

These communistic teachings, however, were far removed from the still more fundamental economic principle laid down by Jesus. Instead of advocating communism, he placed upon each of his followers the responsibility of administering whatever property he might possess as a faithful steward for the best interests of the social group, as well as for his own highest profit.

XXV

PAUL'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TEACHINGS

Paul's Interest in Social Questions. Paul was by nature a mystic. Throughout his entire career as a Christian he firmly believed in the second coming of Jesus. At first glance most of his epistles give the impression that he was more interested in the teachings about Jesus than in what the Master actually taught. Paul's own social teachings are so wrapped up with his theology that many modern readers fail to find them; and yet Paul, the mystic, the visionary, the theologian, was supremely interested in social questions. This interest was primarily due to the fact that there was an intensely practical side to his nature. His power as an apostle was largely the result of this marvellous combination of the mystic and practical man of affairs. Like the greatest of the Hebrew prophets, his head was in the clouds and he caught clear glimpses of the face of the Eternal; but his feet stood squarely on earth and he ever sympathetically walked the path of life in closest touch with his toiling, suffering fellow men. From his earliest years Paul had also been a constant student of the Jewish law and the prophets, which were saturated with social idealism. While Paul, the Christian, rejected the ceremonial demands of that ancient law, he never ceased to emphasise its ethical and social teachings. Moreover, his work as a missionary and pastor constantly brought him into most intimate touch with the varied social problems of the Christian communities. His zeal to develop their highest efficiency ever kept his social interest at white heat.

It is also evident that it was the social element in Jesus' teachings that made the profoundest impression upon Paul.

Through conversations with Peter and other disciples who had been closely associated with Jesus, Paul had ample opportunity to become intimately acquainted with those teachings which bulked so large in Jesus' message to his race. Paul rarely quoted literally. He preferred, even in his use of the Old Testament, to reproduce the fundamental thought in his own language rather than in that of the original writer. And yet in the case of the majority of Paul's social teachings it is possible to trace back to the gospel records the underlying principles which inspired this great apostle to the Gentiles. In a few cases it seems clear that Paul, the oldest of the New Testament writers, has also preserved certain of the priceless social teachings of Jesus which failed to find a place in the gospel records. Paul's social philosophy and teachings therefore possess for us a unique interest. It is not so much Paul the theologian as Paul the social teacher and organiser that is commanding the attention and enthusiastic admiration of the present generation. This, after all, is the real Paul. In his formal epistles Paul the former Pharisee always felt obliged to justify his new theological positions. His long apologies reveal the proselyte; but after these theological preambles he rarely fails to introduce a rich body of social teachings. This is the heart of each epistle. Here Paul lays bare his own heart all aflame with social passion.

Marriage and Divorce. Paul's teachings regarding marriage and divorce are incidental and deal with the peculiar conditions existing in the Corinthian church. They are in fact direct answers to certain questions propounded to him by members of that church. His answers are clearly influenced by two important factors: the first was the immoral atmosphere of that ancient commercial city into which had poured the vices of both the East and the West. If anywhere in the entire Roman world conditions were unfavourable for happy married life it was in corrupt Corinth. The second and still more important factor was Paul's belief that great social and political transformations were imminent. He plainly states this belief in I Corinthians $7^{28c, 29a, 31b, 32a}$:

> Those who marry will have physical discomfort, and I would spare you that. I mean, brothers, the time has been shortened, . . . for this present world order is passing away. I want you to be free from all anxiety.

These factors undoubtedly largely explain the ascetic note in Paul's teaching. They suggest the chief reasons why he gave the following advice regarding mature unmarried women and widows (I Cor. $7^{8, 9a}$):

> I would say this: It is an excellent thing if, like me, they remain as they are; but if they cannot restrain themselves, let them marry.

And at the same time he plainly declared (I Cor. 7^{28a}):

> If you are actually married there is no sin in that; and if a maiden marries there is no sin in that.

In I Corinthians 7^{32-35} Paul states the third reason why he did not advise mature men and women, like himself, to assume matrimonial obligations:

> I wish you to be free from anxiety. The unmarried man is anxious about the Lord's affairs, how he may please the Lord, but the married man is anxious about worldly affairs, how he may please his wife; thus he is torn with anxieties. The young unmarried woman and maiden also is anxious about the Lord's affairs that she may be consecrated body and spirit. But once married, she is anxious about worldly affairs, how she may please her husband. I am saying this in your own interest, not that I want to put a restraint upon your freedom, but only for the sake of decorum and undivided devotion to the Lord.

Paul makes it perfectly clear that his teachings regarding marriage were based simply on his own convictions and the peculiar needs and condition of the Corinthian Christians. To cite this advice as an authority in support of asceticism is as unjust to Paul as it is to the fundamental principles of interpre-

tation. On the subject of divorce, however, he spoke unhesitatingly and on the avowed authority of the Master whom he served (I Cor. 7^{10-16}):

> For married people, my instructions are—yet not mine but the Lord's—a wife is not to separate from her husband, or if she has separated, let her remain single or be reconciled to her husband. Also a husband must not put away his wife. To other people I say—I, not the Lord—if any brother has a wife who is not a believer and she consents to live with him, let him not put her away. And if any woman has a husband who is not a believer and he consents to live with her, let her not put her husband away. For the unbelieving husband is consecrated through his wife, and a woman who is not a believer is consecrated through union with the Christian brother; otherwise your children would be unholy instead of being holy, as they now are. If, however, the unbeliever is determined to separate, let him do so. In such cases the Christian brother or sister is not bound as a slave. God has called you to a life of peace. O wife, how do you know that you may not save your husband? O husband, how do you know that you may not save your wife?

As has already been noted (p. 244), this passage is a strong confirmation of the originality of the Marcan version of Jesus' teaching regarding divorce, which gives no countenance to divorce with the aim of remarrying. It also implies that Jesus, like Paul, advised separation, when the action of either the husband or wife made married life together impossible. At the same time Paul declares his faith in the power of Christian love to break down all barriers and to transform the most impossible characters. It is the same principle which the prophet Hosea set forth not only by word but also in his own tragic domestic life. It is this love and zeal to help the other, who needs this help in proportion as he or she has departed from the path of rectitude, that destroys the hatred and resentment in the mind of the one wronged and often conquers when law and public opinion are powerless. Paul also emphasises the fact that divorce involves not only the interest of husband and wife but also that of their children, and that its

products are offsprings maimed morally and spiritually. The supreme principle which Paul applied to this vexed question is that of the highest peace or well-being for all concerned. If separation is necessary to conserve this well-being, he advises it; but never divorce and remarriage.

The Mutual Responsibilities of Husbands and Wives. Paul, though himself unmarried, has more to say about the duties of husbands and wives than any other biblical writer. The reason for this is because, like Jesus, he was keenly alive to the fundamental importance of the family. Moreover, as the devoted adviser of the communities under his fostering care, he was constantly impressed with the fact that the welfare of the individual and of society is indissolubly bound up with that of the home. He is to-day popularly regarded as the crabbed foe of woman's rights. As a matter of fact Paul, next to Jesus, did more to give woman her rightful position in the marriage relation than any other leader in human thought. In defining the duties and rights of husbands and wives in the intimate marriage relation, he placed them both on an absolute equality (I Cor. 7^{3-5}).

Moreover, it is Paul who alone has preserved and reiterated Jesus' injunction that husbands, in their intimate marriage relation, be governed not by their passions but by tender consideration for the feelings and welfare of their wives. Paul's command in Colossians 3^{18},

> Wives, be subject to your husbands, for this is your Christian duty,

is often quoted; but it is incomplete if torn from its context. In the same breath he lays a still weightier responsibility upon the masculine shoulders:

> Husbands, love your wives; do not be harsh to them.

In the parallel passage in Ephesians 5^{21-27} he commands both husbands and wives to "be subject to one another out of reverence for Christ." Their relationship he likens to that between

Christ and his church. That the life of the home may be harmonious and effective, there must be leadership. That leadership, he declares, naturally devolves upon the husband. In his teaching that, as the church is subject to Christ, so wives are to their husbands, Paul spoke as an Oriental. It is clear that he also had prominently in mind the Greek women of corrupt Corinth, where feminine boldness and immorality too often went hand in hand, rather than the prototype of the educated women of the twentieth century. His counsel, however, is not entirely inappropriate to-day, for he was evidently seeking to restrain a selfish, militant type of feminism that is as hostile to the peace of the modern home as it was to that of the Christian families in Corinth. The principle that Paul was endeavouring to establish was that the happiness of the home is destroyed whenever husbands or wives are simply intent upon defending their individual rights. Only as both find their true life by losing it in the service of each other and of the small social group of which they are the head, are peace and happiness assured.

Again, in even stronger terms, Paul emphasises the equal or greater obligations of husbands (Eph. 5^{25}):

> As Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her, so husbands ought to love their wives, even as they do their own bodies.

Thus Paul declares that in the family, as in every social relation, the supreme right of the Christian is the right to love and serve.

The Duties of Parents and Children. Paul reiterated the old command (Col. 3^{20}):

> Children, obey your parents at every point, for this is right for those who belong to the Lord;

but with keen insight born of wide observation, he added (Col. 3^{21}):

> Fathers, do not irritate your children, lest you make them sullen.

In the parallel passage in Ephesians 6[4] he again enjoins parents to "bring up their children in the discipline and admonition of the Lord." Thus Paul not only reiterated a fundamental tenet of Judaism, but also the principle underlying the modern religious education movement. Upon parents he laid the chief responsibility for the moral and religious education of their children. At the same time he enjoined them to use that superlative tact which is required if this most important of parental duties is to be successfully performed.

The Responsibilities of Masters and Servants. Paul taught that the duty of a Christian was to be content with his lot (I Cor. 7[17, 21]):

> Let each man continue in the condition of life which the Lord has assigned to him, just as when God called him. Thus I laid down the rule to all the churches. Were you a slave when you were called? Do not mind that; but if you are able to get free, make use of the opportunity.

It is to be noted that Paul is here speaking not to masters but to slaves. In this teaching he has doubtless rightly interpreted the spirit of his Master, although the event was to prove that the Golden Rule contained sufficient dynamic power to break in time the fetters from every slave and to set all mankind free. Paul himself seems to have had this great conception hovering on the border of his consciousness when he added (I Cor. 7[22]):

> A slave when he is called to be in the Lord is a freedman of the Lord.

In his letter to his Colossian friend Philemon Paul, however, commends to his Christian master a runaway slave who has been converted under the apostle's kindly teaching and who was now returning to resume his old relationship. The explanation of this seeming inconsistency is that Paul probably recognised that Christianity abrogated the principle underlying slavery, although for the moment it did not sweep away the institution; for he declared repeatedly (Col. 3[11], *cf.* Gal. 3[26]):

> In that new creation there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcised nor uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, nor freedman; but Christ is everything and in all of us.

"That new creation" was in Paul's mind not an indefinite, distant dream, but a vivid, present reality. In the Christian commonwealth that had suddenly sprung up in the heart of the Roman Empire there were no social distinctions. The only standard that determined honour was service performed. Hence, while the old inherited social institutions still survived, Paul could say with absolute consistency (Col. $3^{22, 23}$):

> Servants [literally, slaves], obey your earthly masters in everything; not only when their eye is on you, as those who aim simply to please men, but with single purpose, because you revere the Lord. Whatever you are doing, work at it heartily, as servants of the Lord, and not of men.

In the Christian commonwealth the path that led to honour and to eminence lay along the way marked out by each man's individual gifts and training (Eph. 6^{8}):

> Know that every one, slave or free, will be paid back by the Lord for whatever good he has done.

To all Christian slave-masters, as well as to those who today direct the labour of their fellow men, Paul gave command (Eph. 6^{9}):

> And you masters, act in the same way to your servants, and cease threatening them. Know that they and you both have a Master in heaven, and that there is no partiality about him.

Here is indeed a solution of the age-long contest between labour and capital that is both equitable and practical. It inspires both employer and employee to struggle not for their individual rights, but for the faithful discharge of their respective responsibilities. When each does this, the rights of each will inevitably be conserved. Here, as in every social

relation, Paul emphasises responsibilities rather than mere rights. Above all, he makes the ruling motive, not individual nor class interest, but loyalty to a common Master and to the eternal principles of justice and brotherhood.

The Value and Use of Wealth. Paul in his own personal life followed closely in the footsteps of him who had not where to lay his head. As he declares in one of his latest and most intimate letters (Phil. 4^{11b-13}):

> I have learned how to be content wherever I am. I know how to live humbly; I also know how to live amidst abundance. I have been initiated into every secret of life, both of plenty and of hunger, of abundance and of want. I can do all things in him who strengtheneth me.

Not the least element in the Christian liberty in which Paul exulted was his complete freedom from the bonds which the possession of wealth silently weave about a man. With a pair of willing hands, trained in the art of tent-making, Paul was abundantly able to defy want wherever it overtook him. In the hour of need, when his hands were bound, he found himself rich through the generosity of his loyal Philippian friends (Phil. 4^{18}). Paul, however, was not a vague economic theorist. In I Corinthians 9^{1-10} he contends stoutly for the principle of a living wage for all who contribute to the well-being of society:

> Have we no right to eat and drink at the expense of the churches? Does a soldier provide his own supplies? Does a man plant a vineyard without eating its produce? Does a shepherd get no drink from the milk of the flock?

On the other hand, he laid down the basal and far-reaching economic law (II Thess. 3^{10}):

> If a man is not willing to work, he shall not eat.

This is another of the fundamental Christian principles that are yet to be fully applied in the economic world, which, when fully accepted and incorporated in our social institutions will

go far to correct the glaring evils of modern society. The statutes providing for large income and inheritance taxes, enacted in recent times by most Christian nations, rest squarely on this principle. The lamentable fact remains that many of our modern institutions, and especially the older laws of inheritance, still disastrously hamper the free and full application of this fundamental Christian principle, which may well have come down directly from the lips of Jesus. It certainly is implied in his still broader teaching that the only basis of honour in the new social order is service. Paul's fundamental economic law strikes equally at the idle pauper and the idle rich, and at all similar types of vicious social parasitism. It is obvious that there is no place for the drone in the Christian social order.

Paul has little to say about wealth. He evidently accepted Jesus' teaching on this subject as final. Most of the Christians to whom he wrote were not burdened with great riches. In many practical ways he encouraged them to accept and apply the Christian principle of stewardship. The duty of ministering to the needs of the saints, both within and without the local churches, was ever kept before them; and they nobly responded. Paul clearly lays down the laws of Christian giving in his last letter to the Corinthian church (II Cor. 9^{7-12}):

> Each of you is to give as he has made up his mind to give—not grudgingly nor under compulsion, for God loves a cheerful giver. God is also able to supply you bountifully with every gift, so that you may always have enough for all of your own needs, as it is written:
>
> He scattereth his gifts to the poor,
> His righteous acts remain forever.
>
> He who furnishes the seed for the sower and bread to eat will supply you with seed and multiply it and will increase the fruits of your charity. You will be enriched in every way so as to show all liberality, which through us makes men give thanks to God. For the service rendered by this sacred gift not only supplies the wants of the saints, but in addition causes many a cry of thanksgiving to God.

There is no doubt that Paul, like Jesus, encouraged industry and the private ownership of property. He recognised that the responsibilities connected with the stewardship of property were essential to the development of social citizens. He did not advocate any mechanical law of giving, for he, like Jesus, was fully aware that the largest profit from generous giving accrues to the giver.

> Happier is he who gives than he who receives

embodied a vital principle. If this principle was to be fully operative, it would be necessary for all giving to be absolutely voluntary.

At the same time Paul was careful to cultivate the habit of giving among all his converts. The methods which he used to develop the Christian spirit of stewardship are worthy of careful study. In the first place, he constantly held up before the members of the different Christian communities concrete causes that appealed to their generosity. The first was the needs of their poor or more unfortunate brothers within the community itself. The second was the possibility of developing the mission fields that lay at their door. Above all, he kept ever before them the needs of the saints at Jerusalem. Gifts to the mother church were especially significant in Paul's eyes, for they were powerful forces in promoting the unity of the Jewish and Gentile sections of the Christian church. Paul also knew the psychological value of holding up for emulation concrete examples of generous giving. Thus concerning the Macedonian Christians he wrote to those of Corinth (II Cor. $8^{3,4}$):

> I can testify that according to their means, and even beyond their means, they have given freely. With much entreaty they begged us for the favour of sharing in the service in behalf of the saints.

Paul also endeavoured to banish the supreme foe of generous giving, which is a fear of the future and a tendency to hoard up one's resources beyond all reason. Here the Christian's

faith in God and loyalty to society are the only correctives. Paul showed that undue hoarding of wealth is not only faithless stewardship, but—more deadly still—is evidence of lack of confidence in the divine Giver of all wealth and life. In every form of business God is the major partner. With true economic sense Paul pointed out the utter unwisdom of not trusting and of ignoring this major partner. Thus Paul, in his practical efforts to train liberal citizens of the divine commonwealth, appealed to their sympathies, to their loyalty, to their spirit of wholesome emulation, to their business sense, to their faith, and even to their sane self-interest. It is also significant that his methods were eminently successful. When he returned for the last time to Jerusalem, he was accompanied by a representative committee, appointed by the Gentile churches to bear their generous gifts to the mother church. It was the concrete evidence, as he assured the Corinthian and Macedonian Christians (II Cor. 8[2]), that "their deep poverty had overflowed in a flood of generous liberality."

XXVI

PAUL'S IDEAL OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

Paul's Two Dominant Social Aims. Two great social aims animated Paul in all his missionary work. The first was to develop perfect social citizens. The second was to unite them in a closely knit fraternity or brotherhood until it would include all races of men. These dominant aims are clearly stated in I Corinthians 9^{19-23}:

> For though I am free from all, I have made myself the slave of all in order to win the more converts. To the Jews I have become like a Jew in order to win Jews. To those under the law I have been as if I were under the law in order to win those under the law. To those outside the law I have become as one outside the law—though I am not outside the law of God, but under Christ's law—in order that I may win those outside the law. To the weak I have become as weak myself in order to win over the weak. To all men I have become all things in order to save some in all of these ways. And I do all of these things for the sake of the gospel in order that I may share in it.

First Corinthians 10^{33} contains Paul's great social confession of faith:

> I seek to satisfy all men in all points, aiming not at my own advantage, but at that of the many in order that they may be saved.

This comprehensive social ideal was well worthy of a scion of the widely scattered Jewish race and a citizen of the far-flung Roman empire. He held it, however, because his whole attitude toward life had been transformed by contact with the revolutionising social teachings of Jesus.

His conception of the necessary qualifications of a social citizen is closely parallel to that of Jesus. The chief value of this portrayal lies not in its originality but in the fact that it completes certain details of the portrait that are lacking in the gospels. Paul took Jesus' plan of the fraternal community and adapted it to the conditions that prevailed outside Palestine. Jesus was pre-eminently a teacher, while Paul was an organiser, and as such contributed much to shaping the new social order that rose on the foundations laid by Jesus.

The Characteristics of a Christian Citizen. Like all the great teachers of the Bible, Paul sought to hold up before his readers for their emulation a complete picture of the fully developed Christian citizen. Into that picture he has wrought his own aspirations and experiences, as well as the ideals of Jesus which devoted Christian tradition had handed down. The personality which dominates that picture is none other than that of the Master in whose service Paul unflinchingly faced the perils of land and sea. In Galatians $5^{22, 23}$, after describing the crimes that disqualify men for citizenship in the kingdom of God, Paul, in one of his torrential sentences, enumerates the positive qualifications:

> But the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, forbearance, kindness, generosity, fidelity, gentleness, self-control—there is no law against those who do these things.

He makes it very clear that the foundation of character is temperance and purity of life (Gal. 5^{19-21}; Eph. 5^{3-5}). Every loyal follower of the crucified and glorified Nazarene holds in leash his bodily appetites and passions (Gal. 5^{24}).

With that unique psychological intuition which is born of personal experience Paul also taught the way in which this mastery could be achieved. It was to follow the guidance of the divinely inspired spiritual ideals and emotions which are at work within the mind of every man who is responsive to them (Gal. 5^{16-17}):

> But I tell you: 'Walk by the guidance of the spirit, and then you certainly will not indulge the craving of the flesh.' For the

> craving of the flesh is opposed to that of the spirit, and the craving of the spirit to that of the flesh, for these two are antagonistic to each other, so that you cannot do everything which you are inclined to do.

The Christian citizen is sincere and honest in all his dealings with his fellow men (Col. $3^{9, 10}$, Eph. 4^{28}):

> Do not tell lies to one another, for you have stripped off the old mankind with its practices and have put on the new mankind, which is being renewed in knowledge into the likeness of its Creator. He who has been a thief must steal no more, but instead should work, performing with his own hands honest labour that he may have something to give to him who is in need.

His spirit is humble and thoroughly democratic (Rom. 12^{16}):

> Strive not for the high things, but associate with the humble. Do not be self-conceited.

He is sympathetic, kind, patient, and forgiving (Col. $3^{12, 13}$):

> Therefore, as God's own chosen, consecrated and beloved, be clothed with compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness, patience. Bear with one another and forgive one another, if any one has a complaint against another. Just as the Lord forgave you, so you must forgive.

Like his Master, Paul strongly emphasises the primary social virtue of forgiveness. He was also keenly alive to the importance of ever holding right ideas and ideals in the centre of consciousness (Phil. 4^{8}):

> Brothers, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good repute, if there be any virtue or anything worthy of praise, think on these things.

Above all, the truly social citizen is ever on the alert to do a service for his fellow men (Gal. $6^{9, 10}$):

> And let us not grow weary of doing what is right, for in due season we shall reap if we faint not. So then, as we have opportunity, let us do good to all men and especially to those who are of the household of faith.

In faithful service to God and man he is to find his true happiness. Like his Master, Paul himself found great joy in his work, even though he constantly faced bitter opposition and persecution and endured untold hardships. A jubilant note runs through most of his letters. He is constantly calling upon his fellow Christians to rejoice at all times (I Thess. 5^{16}). In the love-letter to the Philippians which he wrote when he was a prisoner facing death, he exclaims (Phil. 4^{4}):

> Rejoice in the Lord always. Again I say, Rejoice.

Almost the last words that have come from his pen are (Phil. 4^{10}):

> I rejoice in the Lord greatly!

It was this joyous, dauntless, heroic spirit that made the social movement which Jesus initiated invincible during the first Christian century. It is a characteristic of every man who is working to establish in the world the new social order which he proclaimed. Even the stern Pharisee Paul fully realised in experience the truth asserted by Jesus in his paradoxical beatitudes.

The Crowning Virtues of the Social Citizen. Paul, as well as Jesus, was well aware that perfect citizens cannot be made by rule or prescription. He had learned by experience and observation that knowledge often puffs up rather than inspires men to social acts (I Cor. 8^{1}). With clear insight he recognised what many earnest Christians have later failed to appreciate, namely, that ecstatic religious experiences and emotions are not necessarily the marks of the true followers of Jesus. Mere charity is not in itself the evidence of developed social citizenship. Fanatical zeal that prompts extreme acts of self-renunciation is not the final proof of genuine social consciousness. It is love for God and man that alone builds up the

perfect social citizen (I Cor. 8[3]). In immortal terms Paul describes this, the crowning, all-embracing characteristic in his hymn of love (I Cor. 13). Love's pre-eminence lies in its social qualities. It is indeed the parent of all the significant social virtues. No biblical writer emphasises this fact more strongly than does Paul:

> Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels
> But have not love,
> I am become like sounding brass or a clanging cymbal.
> Though I have the gift of prophecy,
> And know all mysteries and all knowledge,
> And have such faith that I can remove mountains,
> But have not love, I am nothing.
> Though I distribute all my goods to the poor,
> And give up my body to be burned,
> But have not love, it profits me nothing.
>
> Love is patient and kind,
> Love knows no jealousy,
> Love is neither boastful nor conceited,
> It is not shameless nor self-seeking,
> It is never provoked nor resentful,
> It rejoices not in evil,
> But rejoices in the truth.
> It covers all faults,
> It believes all things,
> It hopes all things,
> It endures all things.
>
> Love never fails;
> As for prophecies, they shall be set aside,
> As for tongues, they shall cease,
> As for knowledge, it shall be set aside;
> For we know in part,
> And we prophesy in part,
> But when that which is perfect comes,
> That which is imperfect shall be set aside.
> And so these three abide:
> Faith, hope, and love.
> But the greatest of these is love.

The Christian's Attitude toward Civil Authorities. Paul declared that he and his fellow Christians were citizens of a spiritual kingdom. The twelfth chapter of Romans, which summarises his chief social teachings, opens with a call to complete consecration and loyalty to their divine King (Rom. $12^{1,2}$):

> I beseech you, therefore, brothers, on account of the mercies of God, dedicate your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, for this is your reasonable service. And do not be moulded in conformity to this world, but be transformed through the complete renewal of your mind, so that you may be able to make out what is the will of God, even what is good and acceptable and perfect.

This is Paul's characteristic paraphrase of Jesus' command to "seek first the kingdom of God." He did not make the mistake, however, that many of his interpreters have made and ignore the Christian citizen's obligations to existing society. In his mind there was no antithesis between citizenship in heaven and citizenship in the Roman empire. Paul lived under the reign of Tiberius and Claudius, both of whom, notwithstanding their glaring personal faults, were exceedingly zealous to give a just rule to the provinces of the empire. The great statesman-apostle was also eager to preserve the friendly relations which hitherto had existed between the Roman authorities and the Christians. He had no occasion to discuss the Christian citizen's duty when emperor and rulers make unjust demands. His whole aim was to make perfectly clear to each Christian that he was under obligation to perform willingly and faithfully every duty that devolved upon him as a citizen of the community and nation in which he lived. He makes it a religious as well as a social obligation. Under the autocratic rule of Rome the only ways in which the individual citizen could show his devotion to the state were by willing obedience and by the prompt payment of taxes. The principle, however, is the same whether the background be a despotic monarchy or a democracy where a supreme responsibility rests upon each citizen (Rom. 13^{1-7}):

> Every individual must obey those who rule over him, for there is no authority apart from God; the existing authorities have been constituted by God. Therefore, whoever resists authority is resisting the order established by God, and they who oppose it will bring judgment on themselves. For rulers are no terror to right-doers but to wrong-doers. You wish, do you not, to have no fear of authority? Then do what is right and you will be commended by it, for a ruler is the servant of God for your good. But if you do wrong, you have cause to fear, for he does not bear the sword for nothing, for he is God's servant to inflict divine punishment upon evil-doers. It is necessary, therefore, that we should obey, not only to avoid divine vengeance, but also for conscience' sake. For this same reason we pay taxes, for tax collectors are God's servants, devoting their energies to this very thing. Render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, taxes to whom taxes, respect to whom respect, and honour to whom honour is due.

Underlying Paul's teaching are the two fundamental principles laid down by Jesus: (1) that honour is due to public officials simply in proportion to the service which they render the community, and (2) the duty of the social citizen is to render to each his proper due.

The Christian Citizen's Obligations to His Fellow Christians. Paul is exceedingly explicit in his definition of the obligations which each Christian owes to the other members of the Christian brotherhood. Instead of teaching favouritism or exclusiveness, he is here defining the duties of every citizen in the new social order of which the individual Christian communities were prototypes. Never was a higher ideal of citizenship held up before mankind; and yet only as this ideal is realised can a perfect social order be established.

Genuine love for one's fellow Christians is, Paul reiterates, the great social solvent. This love, to be effective, must dominate the whole man and determine his every thought and act. In a series of kinetic sentences, vibrant with the personality of the great apostle, he presents the ideal of love dominating all social relations (Rom. $12^{9\text{-}13,\ 15,\ 16a}$):

> Let love be without hypocrisy; abhor what is evil, cleave to what is good. In your love for your brothers feel true affection for one another. In matters of honour yield to one another. Be not lacking in zeal; keep alive the spiritual glow; serve the Lord; rejoice in your hope; be steadfast in trouble, persistent in prayer; contribute to the needs of the saints, constantly practise hospitality. Rejoice with those who rejoice and weep with those who weep. Think in harmony one with another.

It requires little imagination to picture the society which would arise when all or even a majority of its citizens lived in accord with these practical injunctions. Paul taught that the Christian citizen should give not only of his means but himself to the service of his fellows. Upon his shoulders he placed the responsibility of restoring the morally weak and fallen (Gal. $6^{1, 2}$):

> Even if any one is caught in some wrong act, brothers, you who are spiritual must set such a one right in a spirit of gentleness. Let each one of you look to himself lest you be tempted. Bear one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ.

At the same time Paul did not for a moment encourage lazy dependence on others (Gal. 6^{3-6}):

> If any one imagines that he is somebody when he is nobody, he is deceiving himself. Let every one test his own work and then he will have something to boast about on his own account, and not in comparison with his neighbour. For every one will have to bear his own load. Each one who is taught should share all the good things of life with those who teach him the word.

To this he added the wise injunction (Rom. 13^{8}):

> Owe no man anything, except to love one another, for he who loves his fellow man has fulfilled the law.

On the authority of Jesus Paul commanded the Thessalonian Christians to punish not by force but by social ostracism the

brother who defiantly refused to contribute his part to the common service (II Thess. 3^{6}):

> We command you, brothers, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to shun any brother who is an idler and not living according to the teaching which he received from us.

Into the field of business Paul, in his letter to the contentious Corinthian Christians, carried the same principles of justice and fraternity (I Cor. 6^{1-7}):

> If one of you has a grievance against another, does he dare to go to law before sinful pagan judges and not before the saints? Do you not know that the saints are to sit in judgment upon the world? If the world is to come under your jurisdiction, are you incapable of deciding petty questions? Do you not know that you are to sit in judgment upon angels, to say nothing of the things of this life, and yet, when you have things of this life to decide, do you refer them to the judgment of men who are of no account in the church? I speak in order to put you to shame. Has it come to this that there is not one wise man among you who is able to decide between a man and his brother instead of one brother going to law with another, and that before unbelievers? Therefore, the fact that you have lawsuits with one another is convincing evidence of a defect in you. Why not rather let yourself be wronged?

Thus the experienced apostle took his stand squarely in favour of arbitration. Like his Master, he sought to go further and to kindle a spirit of devotion to the larger interests of the community that would make arbitration unnecessary. When men and classes learn to "think in harmony with one another" the bitter contentions that rend society become impossible. Upon the strong, he declared, rests the responsibility of bearing the burdens of the weak. Men and classes who are intent on building up their fellow men have no time nor taste for maligning and murderous strife (Rom. 15^{1-3}):

> We who are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Each of us should please his neigh-

bour in order to do him good by building him up. And this is our duty, for Christ did not please himself, but, as it is written, 'The reproaches of those who reproached thee fell on me.'

Far-reaching in its social bearing is Paul's noble exhortation which echoes the teachings of Jesus (Rom. 14[13]):

> Therefore, let us no longer criticise one another. Rather make this decision, never to put any stumbling block or hindrance in your brother's way.

Into his last great epistle, the intimate letter which he wrote to the Philippians, Paul has compacted the essential principles of Christian citizenship (Phil. 2[1-4]):

> If, then, there is any way of appealing to you as followers of Christ, if there is any persuasion in love, if there is any fellowship of the Spirit, or if you have any tender-heartedness and compassion, make my joy complete by being of one mind. United by mutual love and a feeling of harmony, have the one aim in mind. Do nothing under the influence of factiousness and vainglory, but with humility let each regard the rest as better than himself. Let each of you look out not merely for his own interests, but each for those of others also.

The Christian's Duty to Non-Christians and Enemies. Toward the larger heathen world, with which every Christian citizen came into close contact, Paul urged his fellow Christians to maintain the same honourable relations (I Thess. 4[11, 12]):

> We beseech you, brothers, to endeavour to live peacefully, to attend to your own business, and, as we charged you, work with your own hands, so that you may live worthy lives in your relations to those without, and not be a burden to any one.

In I Thessalonians 5[15] he lays down the rule, the observance of which distinguishes the truly social from the non-social citizen:

> See that no one of you pays back evil for evil, but always seek for opportunities of doing good to one another and to all men.

This same teaching is urged in even stronger terms in Romans $12^{14, 17-21}$:

> Bless those who persecute you, bless and curse them not. Do not pay back evil for evil to any one; take thought for what is seemly in the eyes of all. If possible, as far as it depends on you, live at peace with all men. Never revenge yourselves, beloved, but give place to the wrath of God; for it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.' Rather, if your enemy is hungry feed him, if he is thirsty give him drink; for in so doing you will heap coals of fire on his head. Be not conquered by evil, but conquer evil by doing good.

To "conquer evil by doing good" is the fundamental principle which he lays down for the guidance of the Christian citizen in all the unpleasant relations of life. Back of all, as the motive power, is loyalty to God (I Cor. 10^{31}):

> Whether you eat or drink or whatever you do, do all to the glory of God.

The Christian Commonwealth. Many incidental references indicate that Paul accepted Jesus' ideal of the kingdom of God. That ideal always lies in the background of his consciousness (*e. g.*, Gal. 5^{21}, I Cor. 6^{10}); but he uses the term kingdom of God only rarely. He preferred instead the term "body of Christ," for it associated the ideal more closely with its author and emphasised the close unity of the fraternal community which represented the concrete realisation of Jesus' social plan. The two correlative terms are characteristic respectively of Jesus and Paul. The one stresses the principle—loyalty to God; the other the external embodiment of this ideal. Paul the Roman citizen was enthralled by the splendour of the Roman imperial system. He naturally thought in terms of world empire and sought to express Jesus' social ideals in definite organisation and institutions. He it was who to a large

extent developed the churchly type of organisation. Paul, however, used the term body of Christ to describe not merely the diverse membership of an individual church, but also "the new creation" (Col. 3^{11}), "the new mankind" (Eph. 2^{15}), the new commonwealth that included all who accepted Jesus' social principles as their guide in life (I Cor. $12^{12, 13}$):

> As the human body is one, yet has many members, and all the members form one body, though they are so many, so it is with Christ. For by one Spirit we have all been baptised into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, slaves or freedmen. We have all been nourished by one Spirit.

Paul also employed this striking term because it was thoroughly democratic, and at the same time emphasised the close unity of the fraternal community, the importance of each individual, and his responsibility to the entire body. Here is a social plan which enables every man, however humble or inefficient, to do the work for which he is fitted. To each is vouchsafed the inspiration of feeling that he is contributing to the fraternal community that which is absolutely indispensable. The well-being and glory of the whole he enjoys as his own. He is a citizen not of an obscure province, but of a commonwealth that extends to the ends of the earth and knows no temporal bounds. All his interests and outlook on life are thereby intensified and enlarged (I Cor. $12^{14\text{-}20, 26, 27}$):

> For even the human body does not consist of one member but many. If the foot were to say, 'Because I am not the hand, I do not belong to the body,' that would not make it any less a part of the body. If the ear were to say, 'Because I am not the eye, I do not belong to the body,' that would not make it any less a part of the body. If all the body were an eye, where would the hearing be? If all the body were an ear, where would the smell be? But as it is, God hath placed the members in the body, each as he pleased. If they are all but one member, where would the body be? As it is, there are many members and one body. And if one member suffers, all members suffer with it. If one member

is honoured, all the members share its honour. You, indeed, are Christ's body and individually members of it.

Paul found the figure of the different members of the human body exceedingly effective in driving home the importance of individual loyalty to the fraternal community and the necessity that each devote his individual gifts to the common good (Rom. 12^{3-8}; *cf.* I Cor. $12^{21-25, 28-31}$):

By virtue of the divine authority granted to me, I charge every one of you not to think of himself more than he ought to think; but so to think that he will attain a sane estimate of himself according to the degree of faith which God has apportioned to each. For just as in our one body we have many members, and all the members do not have the same functions, so we, though many, are one body in Christ and we are each members one with another. We have different gifts according to the grace that is given us; if it is prophecy let us use it in proportion to our faith; if practical service, in practical service; the teacher must do the same in teaching; he who exhorts in his exhortation; he who gives must do it liberally; he who is an authority must be in earnest; he who does acts of mercy must do them cheerfully.

The Christianity of Jesus and Paul presents a social programme that sweeps away all narrow class and racial and national barriers, and binds all men together by the bonds of common self-interest, faith, service, and love. In Ephesians $4^{4-7, 11-16}$ Paul presents the constitution of this new social order:

There is one body and one spirit—one hope was held out to you as the goal of your calling—one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over us all, acts through us all, and is in us all. But to each of us has been given his own grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ.

Christ himself granted some to be apostles, some to be prophets, some to be evangelists, some to be pastors and teachers, in order that the saints may be fully equipped for the work of service, that is, for the upbuilding of the body of Christ, until we all attain the unity of the faith and the knowledge of God's son, even to the perfect manhood and to the full measure of maturity which

belongs to the fulness of Christ, that we may no longer be babes, blown from our course and carried here and there by every passing wind of doctrine, by the adroitness of men who are skilful in making use of every evil device to mislead. Rather we are to hold to the truth and by our love grow up wholly into union with him who is our head, even Christ. Dependent on him, the whole body is welded together and compacted by every joint with which it is supplied, and by the due activity of each part the body is enabled to grow so as to build itself up in love.

XXVII

THE ADOPTION OF JESUS' SOCIAL PRINCIPLES DURING THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CENTURY

The Spread of Jesus' Social Leaven. The second half of the first Christian century witnessed a remarkable fulfilment of Jesus' implied prediction (Lk. 13[21]):

> The kingdom of heaven is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, until the whole was leavened.

The social leaven which Jesus injected into human society in a distant corner of the Roman empire spread with incredible rapidity, until by the end of the first Christian century it was beginning to leaven the entire civilised world. This development is all the more significant because it went on in the face of the belief firmly held by his followers that Jesus was speedily to return to establish a new social order, not by evolutionary but by miraculous, revolutionary methods. Another strong influence which retarded the free spread of Jesus' social leaven was the growing tendency to define Christianity in terms of belief rather than of character and acts. Against this paralysing tendency the author of the epistle of James raises a strong protest (James 2[14-19]):

> What use is it, my brothers, if a man says he has faith and yet has no works? Can his faith save him? Suppose a brother or a sister is ill-clad or lacks daily food, and one of you says to them, 'Depart in peace; be warmed and well fed,' but does not give them what their body needs, what use is that? So faith without works is dead in itself. But some one will say, 'You have faith!' Yes, and I have works as well. You show me your faith without

> works and I will show you by works what faith is! You believe in one God? You are quite right; evil spirits also believe and shudder.

Notwithstanding the numerous retarding influences, the later New Testament books, with only one or two exceptions, are saturated with the social idealism of Jesus and Paul. In a few cases they have probably preserved certain of Jesus' social teachings not found in the gospels; but for the most part they are simply reiterations of the fundamental principles which are there laid down. None of these later Christian writers develops a complete Christian philosophy. But even though their teachings are fragmentary, they indicate how completely Jesus' social ideals inspired and moulded the lives of his early followers. The cruel persecutions instigated by Nero in 64 A.D. and the protracted and wide-spread persecutions during the last decade of the first century only intensified the devotion and loyalty of the Christians to each other and to the ideals of their Master. Practically all of the later New Testament writings are the outgrowth of these persecutions, and especially those of Domitian; and they vividly reveal the social atmosphere in which the early Christian martyrs lived.

The Duties of Wives and Husbands. Certain of the teachings in I Peter may come directly from the great apostle, but the book in its present form is probably not earlier than 85 or 90 A.D. It is really a practical homily addressed to persecuted Christians throughout the Roman empire. In a direct and practical way it deals with certain universal problems. In its teachings regarding the mutual responsibilities of husbands and wives it carries the Golden Rule into the family life (I Pet. 3^{1-4}):

> Wives, be submissive to your husbands, so that, even if some of these husbands do not believe the word, they may be won over, apart from the word, through the behaviour of their wives, when they see how reverent and blameless your behaviour is. Let not your behaviour be one of outward adornment, one of plaiting the hair, putting on ornaments of gold or wearing apparel.

> Instead, it should be a new nature in the heart, with the incorruptible beauty of a gentle and peaceful spirit, which is of rare value in the sight of God.

The emphasis here is placed not on the rights but on the supreme opportunities and responsibilities of the Christian wife. Even the seemingly impassable chasm which yawned between the pagan and the Christian is to be bridged by love. The principle invoked is that so nobly set forth in the Second Isaiah's portrait of the servant of Jehovah, which is reiterated in Paul's immortal declaration that he would be "all things to all men to win all to Christ." The submission here demanded is voluntary —a worthy means to a noble end—not slavish nor demeaning.

The obligation imposed upon husbands is even heavier (I Pet. 3[7]):

> Likewise, you husbands, be considerate as you live together with your wives, recognising that they belong to the weaker sex. Also treat them as heirs, equally with you, of the gift of life, so that your prayers may not be hindered.

Perhaps no passage in all the Bible has been more misinterpreted and misused. Women are here spoken of as "the weaker sex," not in the mental or spiritual, but in the physical sense. Like all the great social teachings of the Bible, this rests squarely on an ultimate scientific fact. The passage reflects the superb chivalry which Jesus inspired by all his teachings regarding woman. The husband's loving consideration for the more delicate sensibilities of the wife is one of the most effective preventives of the ghastly array of divorces which are the shame of our modern civilisation. It is also significant that the author places woman on an absolute equality with man in sharing the finer spiritual heritages which enrich life. He also aims to bind husbands and wives together by the invincible bonds of religion.

The Obligations of Christian Servants. First Peter contains practical counsel directed to those who serve society in a less prominent capacity. It sets forth simply and directly that

working philosophy of life that insures both harmony and happiness in the family; for there can be no strife when all are inspired by loyalty to God and have forgotten their personal and class interests in their whole-hearted service for the good of the social group (I Pet. 2^{18-23}):

> Household servants, be submissive to your masters with all respect, not only to those who are kind and considerate but also to those who are surly; for it is a merit, when from a sense of a duty to God one patiently endures the pains of suffering unjustly inflicted. For if you do wrong and receive a blow for it, what credit is there in your bearing it patiently? but if, when you do right and suffer for it, you bear it patiently this counts as a merit in God's sight.
>
> It is for this that you were called, for when Christ also suffered in your behalf, he left you an example that you should follow his footsteps. He committed no sin nor was guile found in his mouth. When he was reviled he reviled not again; when he suffered he never threatened, but left everything to him who judges justly.

Attitude of the Christian toward His Fellow Christians. The author of I Peter has given us a glowing picture of the socially minded Christian citizen. It is a practical application of the principles laid down by Jesus (I Pet. 3^{8-11}):

> Finally, you should all be of one mind, sympathetic, kind to the brothers, compassionate, humble, not paying back evil for evil nor reviling when you are reviled, but on the contrary giving a blessing in return, for to this end you have been called that you may inherit a blessing, for,
>
> He who would love life,
> And see good days,
> Let him restrain his tongue from evil,
> And his lips from speaking guile;
> Let him turn from evil and do good,
> Let him seek peace and pursue it.

As in Jesus' familiar beatitude, peace represents harmony and good will between man and God and his fellow man. With

true insight, the author of the epistle of James declares (James 3^{18}):

> For the peacemakers who sow in peace there is a harvest of righteousness.

Like Jesus and Paul, the author of I Peter asserts that in all social relations love is the great solvent (I Pet. 4^{8-11}):

> Above all, be intent upon loving one another, for love hides a multitude of sins. Be hospitable to one another without grudging. You must serve one another, each with the talents which he has received, as excellent stewards of God's manifold goodness. If any one preaches, let it be as one who utters the word of God. If any one renders a service, let it be in the strength which God supplieth, so that in everything God may be glorified through Jesus Christ, to whom belongs the glory and the dominion for ever and ever.

The Democracy of the Epistle of James. Whoever be the author of the epistle of James, it is at least certain that this Christian book of wisdom reflects the experiences and ideals of the Palestinian Christian community, which was the lineal heir of Jesus' teachings. It is intensely concrete and direct. It expresses in clearest terms those democratic ideals which were the glory and strength of primitive Christianity (James 2^{1-9}):

> My brothers, as you believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, who is our glory, do not show favouritism. For suppose a man comes into one of your meetings, wearing gold rings and handsome clothes, and there also comes in a poor man in dirty clothes. If you attend to the one who wears handsome clothes and say, 'Sit here, this is a good place,' and say to the poor man, 'Stand there,' or 'Sit at my feet,' are you not making distinctions among yourselves and judging people with wrong standards? Listen, my beloved brothers, hath not God chosen the poor of this world to be rich in faith and to inherit the kingdom which he has promised to those who love him? Yet you insult the poor man. Is it not the rich who lord it over you and themselves drag you into law courts? Is it not they who revile the noble name you bear? If,

however, you are fulfilling the royal law according to scripture, which says, 'You must love your neighbour as yourself,' you are doing well; but if you show partiality you are committing sin and are convicted by the law as offenders.

Most felicitous is the author's designation of the great command to love one's neighbour as the "royal law." It is this law which levels all distinctions between rich and poor, noble and serf, and binds all men together in one great family. In the present day, when unchristian distinctions are creeping into the church, this passage should be inscribed, if not over the entrance to every church building, at least upon the minds of all who direct the policy of that institution which should stand pre-eminently as the embodiment and interpreter of Jesus' social principles. To this might well be added the social definition of religion found in James 1^{27}:

The religion that is pure and stainless in the sight of God the Father is this: to care personally for orphans and widows in their trouble and to keep oneself unspotted from the world.

Responsibility of Wealth. The attitude of the author of the epistle of James toward wealth recalls Luke's version of Jesus' teachings:

Woe to you who are rich!
For you are getting your comfort.

It is clear, however, that the author of James is not indiscriminately attacking those who possess wealth, but only those who acquire it by unjust means. His words are exceedingly direct and concrete (James 5^{1-6}):

Come now, you rich men, weep and howl over your impending miseries. Your riches are rotting, your clothes are moth-eaten, your gold and silver are covered with rust and their rust will be evidence against you and it will devour your flesh like fire. You have been storing up treasures in these last days. See the wages due those who have reaped your fields—the wages of which you

> have defrauded them—are calling out against you, and the cries of the harvesters have reached the ears of the Lord of Hosts. You have revelled here on earth and given yourselves to pleasure; you have fattened yourselves as for the day of slaughter; you have condemned, you have murdered the righteous man who does not resist you.

These burning words apply equally well to-day to every rapacious employer of labour, or to him who so directs the policy of any corporation that it is giving the manual labourers in its employ less than a living wage, or less than their proportionate share in the products of their labour. The foundation of these teachings is the Christian principle of the stewardship of wealth. It is also important to note that the author is interested not merely in the humble toiler who is deprived of his rights, but in the rich, who by their foolish acts, like Esau of old, are bartering away their birthright to happiness in this world, as well as in the world to come, for a paltry mess of pottage. As he studies life, its supreme tragedy seems to him to be that the strong man, whose ability is revealed by his skill in acquiring wealth, is, in his pursuit of wrong ambitions (James $1^{10, 11}$),

> like the flower of the grass, which withers before the rising sun and the scorching wind, so that its flower drops off and the beauty of its appearance perishes.

Social Significance of the Apocalyptic Visions in the Book of Revelation. The book of Revelation, with its strange symbols and its stately apocalyptic style, is a confusing labyrinth to most modern readers. Like the book of Daniel and the other Jewish and Christian apocalypses, it belongs to the impressionistic type of literature. It appeals to the emotions rather than to the reason. As Professor James has said, its visions "stir chords within us which music and language touch in common." The immediate aim of these visions was to bring much-needed encouragement to the persecuted Christians throughout the Roman empire in the days of Domitian. Its practical purpose was to insure faithful Christian living. Like

the immortal poet who speaks through the book of Job, its author was also grappling with the perennial problem of the justice of the divine rulership of the world.

Aside from its literary charm and association, the present-day value of the book lies in the fact that the culmination of its impressive visions is a glowing picture of the new Jerusalem, the perfect social state. This new social order is divine in its conception and origin. But, according to the conviction of the author, it is to be realised on earth. As in Jesus' ideal of the kingdom, God is pictured as the source and centre of all authority and life. In this new social state fellowship and loyalty are to take the place of force and compulsion (Rev. $21^{3,4}$):

> And I heard a loud voice out of the throne crying:
>
> 'Lo, God's dwelling place is with men;
> With men will he dwell;
> They will be his people,
> And God will himself be with them.
> He will wipe away every tear from their eyes,
> And death will be no more.'

In this new society only the socially redeemed shall have a part (Rev. 21^{27}, $22^{3,4}$):

> Nothing unclean shall ever enter it,
> Nor any one who practises abomination or falsehood.
> None who are accursed shall remain there;
> But the throne of God and the Lamb shall be in it,
> And his servants shall render him holy service,
> And they shall look upon his face,
> And his name shall be on their foreheads.

In these impressive words the author of Revelation emphasises the fact that the citizens in the ultimate social order must be not only morally upright, but loyally devoted to the service of their divine King. All racial and class distinctions are broken down; Jesus' principle that glory is due only to those who serve is regnant.

The Christian Law of Love. The first epistle of John contains the noblest expression of the spirit of primitive Christianity. Whatever be its authorship and date, its thought and teachings are closely related to those of Jesus. Here Hosea's doctrine of love blossoms forth into full flower. Not creed but a commanding love for God and man is set forth as the touchstone of Christianity (I Jn. $3^{11, 14-18}$, $4^{7, 8}$):

> For this is the message you have heard from the very beginning, that you are to love one another. We know that we have passed over from death to life because we love our brothers. He who has no love remains in death. Any one who hates his brother is a murderer, and you know that no murderer has eternal life remaining in him. We know also what love is by this, that Christ laid down his life for us; so we ought to lay down our lives for the brothers. But if any one has this world's wealth and sees his brother in need and restrains his sympathy for him, how can love for God remain in him? My children, let us show our love not in words nor with lips only, but by deed and sincerity.
>
> Beloved, let us love one another, for love comes from God and every one who loves is born of God and knows God. He who does not love does not know God, for God is love.

The Realisation of Jesus' Social Ideals in the Life of the Primitive Church. The first Christian century was a great laboratory in which Jesus' social teachings were practically tested. As he himself had declared, it was the poor and needy who first appreciated and appropriated his ideal of the kingdom of God. To them it meant not only freedom and fraternity, but also an opportunity to express themselves in the life of the Christian communities which sprang up throughout the empire. Within these new social groups unnatural social distinctions were largely broken down. Masters and slaves, rich and poor, accepted in practice as well as in theory Jesus' transforming principle:

> One is your Master and you all are brothers.
> Let him who would be first among you be servant of all.

Love not only levelled all conventional distinctions, but also bound each man to his fellows by the indissoluble bond of a common faith, common interests, and common endeavour. Men forgot their selfish ambitions in their zeal to serve the community and the larger body of Christ. Even the hostile pagan critics cried out, as they studied these brotherhoods: "Look how they love one another!" Undoubtedly there were many exceptions, but in the main the vivid picture of the early Christians which the Athenian orator Aristides held up before the eyes of the Emperor Hadrian is true to life, for it is confirmed by many passages in early Christian writings:

> The Christians know and trust God, the Creator of heaven and earth in whom are all things and from whom are all things, and who has no other God beside him. From him they have received the commandments which they have engraved on their minds and keep in the hope and expectation of the world to come. Therefore they do not commit adultery nor fornication; they do not bear false witness; they do not deny what has been deposited with them, nor covet what is not theirs. They honour father and mother and show kindness to their neighbours. If they are judges, they judge uprightly. They do not worship idols made in human form, and whatever they do not wish that others should do to them, they do not to others. They do not eat of food offered to idols because they are undefiled. They placate those who oppress them and make them their friends; they do good to their enemies. Their wives are absolutely pure and their daughters modest. Their men abstain from every unlawful marriage and from all impurity in the hope of future recompense. If any of them have bondmen, bondwomen or children, they persuade them to become Christians for the love that they have toward them; and when they become so they call them without distinction, brothers. They do not worship strange gods. They walk in all humility and kindness, and falsehood is not found among them. They love one another. They do not refuse to help the widows. They rescue the orphan from him who does him violence. He who has gives ungrudgingly to him who has not. If they see a stranger, they take him to their dwellings and rejoice over him as over a real brother; for they do not call themselves brothers after the

flesh but after the Spirit and in God. When one of their poor passes from the world, any one of them who sees it provides for his burial according to his ability. And if they hear that any one of their number is in prison or oppressed for the name of their Messiah, all of them provide for his needs. And if it is possible to redeem him, they deliver him. If any one among them is poor and needy and they do not have food to spare, they fast two or three days that they may supply him with the necessary food. They scrupulously observe the commands of their Messiah. They live honestly and soberly as the Lord their God commanded them. Every morning and every hour they thank and praise God for his loving kindnesses toward them; and for their food and drink they give thanks to him. If any righteous man among them passes from this world, they rejoice and give thanks to God, and they escort his body as if he were setting out on a journey from one place to another. If, on the other hand, they see that one of their number has died in his ungodliness or in his sins, they weep bitterly and sigh as over one who is about to go to punishment.

As men who know God, they ask from him what is proper for him to give and for them to receive. Thus they do throughout their entire life. And inasmuch as they acknowledge the loving kindnesses of God toward them, lo, because of them there flows forth all the beauty that is in the world! But the good deeds which they do, they do not proclaim in the ears of the multitude, but they take care that no one shall perceive them. They hide their gift as one who has found a treasure hides it. Thus they labour to become righteous as those who expect to see their Messiah and to receive from him the glorious fulfilment of the promises made to them. Truly this is a new people and there is something divine in them!

XXVIII

THE APPLICATION OF THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF THE PROPHETS AND JESUS

Christianity's Conquest of and by Rome. The pioneer period of struggle and persecution was the noblest era in the history of early Christianity. Its later conquest of imperial Rome was won at the cost of its social ideals and spiritual vigour. Even before the days of Constantine it was led, under the pressure of persecution and competition, to build up an elaborate hierarchy. When the teachings of the Nazarene were nominally accepted as the religion of the empire, this complex machinery was blended with that of the Roman state. The tragic result was that organised Christianity became "a pillar of despotism and the foe of liberty." Under these constricting conditions the democratic and social ideals of the prophets and Jesus were either explained away or quietly ignored. Throughout the world the social evils which Jesus had relentlessly combated were tolerated and perpetuated in his name.

The Effects of Christianity's Long Contest with Paganism. Many converging influences tended to check the spread of the social leaven which Jesus injected into ancient society. Transplanted from the soil of Palestine into a very different western environment, Christianity underwent great transformations. For several centuries its strongest rivals were the popular mystery cults. These cults appealed strongly to the people through their elaborate ritual and their promises of individual happiness and personal salvation in the life beyond the grave. Christianity was unconsciously but deeply influenced by these contemporary religions. In the early centuries, when competition with them was strongest, its victories were largely

won by compromise. Those Christian converts who had been reared in a strongly pagan atmosphere also naturally brought with them many of their earlier ideas. Through these channels other-worldliness and ceremonialism suddenly came to be the most prominent factors in Christianity itself. Jesus had said little about individual immortality and had established no rites nor institutions. Practically all the elaborate ritual of the later church was derived either from Jewish, Greek, Egyptian, or Roman sources. The tragic result of these new and powerful influences was that the undue emphasis on ceremonial forms and other-worldliness, which Jesus had condemned in Judaism, took the place of the social passion which he had sought to inspire in his followers.

The Trend toward Monasticism and Asceticism. The monasticism and asceticism which characterised the mediæval church were also pagan rather than Christian in their origin. They were the result of a natural reaction against the despotic type of Christianity which resulted from the fusion of church and state. Deprived of individual liberty and self-expression in this world, men turned with passionate longing to the life beyond death. By fleeing from society each sought to secure for himself the certainty of eternal blessedness. This quest became the dominant aim of even the noblest souls. Its practical effects were distinctly unsocial. True, certain of the later monastic orders performed a noble social service for the communities to which they ministered, but it was simply remedial rather than constructive. They worked on the surface instead of going to the heart of the social problem. For more than twelve centuries monasticism, asceticism, and other-worldliness continued to blind men's eyes to the true meaning and practical interpretation of Jesus' social gospel.

The Theological Interpretation of Christianity. Beginning with the second century, the leadership of the Christian church passed to the early Church Fathers. They were men of Greek and Roman training and culture. Through them not only Greek philosophical ideals but also Greek methods of thought found an increasingly prominent place in Christianity. True

to their inheritance and training, these great leaders regarded individual belief as far more important than social living. The church began to demand of its followers loyalty to a definite creed rather than loyalty to the service of their fellow men. As a result the rank and file of the mediæval church were wholly unconscious of the social dynamics which the scriptures contain. In time, also, the leaders of the western church, fearing that these dynamics might prove explosive, took the Bible completely out of the hands of the common people. The result was that human civilisation for centuries almost reverted to the social and moral level of primitive barbarism.

The Protestant Reformation put the scriptures again into the hands of the people; but unfortunately it continued to fix their attention chiefly on the theological and largely ignored the social teachings of the Bible. The main emphasis was still placed on other-worldliness. Religion and practical ethics were regarded simply as the means whereby the individual might secure a title to future blessedness. There were a few striking exceptions; but a majority of the Protestant leaders failed to see that the message of historic Christianity is to the living, not to the dead, and that it must express itself in human society as well as in the soul of the individual.

Puritanism, with its splendid emphasis on personal ethics, still largely lacked the social passion. Its leaders, however, were powerfully influenced by the democratic ideals of the prophets and Jesus. Their heroic efforts to found a Christian commonwealth marked the beginnings of a new social consciousness. Until the close of the last century, however, a majority of the Protestant churches throughout the world were still under the chilling shadow of the Middle Ages. Even during the last quarter of that century a prominent Protestant theologian declared: "Christianity is not a life: it is a dogma!" Bismarck, Germany's most far-seeing statesman, in his last days revealed his utter failure to appreciate the democracy of Jesus by the strange declaration: "If I were not a Christian, I would be a republican." It is evident that organised Christianity of the last century lamentably misinterpreted the social gospel of

its Founder. The task of the twentieth century is faithfully and clearly to reinterpret that gospel into modern terms.

The Rediscovery of the Social Teachings of the Bible. The past half-century has proved pre-eminently an era of discovery. In many ways the most important achievement of this remarkable period has been the rediscovery of the social teachings of the prophets and Jesus. This great achievement is the direct result of the most powerful forces at work in modern life and thought. The Protestant Reformation, in its strong reaction against despotic ecclesiasticism, prepared the way for a new appreciation of these social principles. Undoubtedly the recent conquests of democracy are largely due to the social leaven contained in the Bible. On the other hand, the present unmistakable trend toward democracy enables the man of the twentieth century to read these ancient scriptures with an absolutely new interest and understanding. The modern scientific spirit and method, which have taken the place of the old dogmatism and the appeal to arbitrary authority, have created a new mental attitude toward the Bible. Moreover, they have also made it possible to separate the original social teachings of the prophets and Jesus from the conflicting and misleading traditions with which they have been encumbered and have thus made clear their universal as well as their immediate application.

The New Social Awakening. The entire tendency of modern civilisation is to break down the barriers between nations. Great oceans no longer suffice to keep races apart. Travel, commerce, and the interchange of ideas have made close neighbours of the most distant peoples. Even the seemingly impassable, indestructible barrier between the East and the West is vanishing. To-day the unifying movement which rapidly advanced during the first Christian century under the rule of Rome is now reaching its culmination. The human race has at last awakened to the full realisation of the fact that it is but one great family. Men are compelled to think in universal social terms. An international patriotism is stirring in the minds of the world's true prophets and statesmen.

Human interests are largely begotten by human needs. Throughout all history social problems have existed, but to-day men are acutely conscious of them as never before. They also see clearly that their own happiness and that of society and of future generations depend upon the way in which these problems are solved. They are well aware that, although men have learned many things and have amassed vast wealth, they have not yet learned how to use the fruits of their knowledge and achievements to the mutual advantage of all. In this age of plenty, thousands, if not millions, are starving, while many more who are willing to work are often denied the opportunity. Dissatisfaction and social unrest are world-wide. Men to-day are not only awake to these insistent problems, but they are also studying them with the scientific thoroughness characteristic of the age. More than that, they are seeking to discover and are eager to apply the ultimate social principles which will bring permanent order out of the prevailing chaos. With the intentness and expectancy of a sick man in distress, they are turning to the great social teachers of the past and present who promise a remedy for society's ills.

The Programme of Socialism and That of the Prophets and Jesus. The old despotic systems of social organisation are being gradually cast aside as worthless. The relentlessly competitive industrialism which prevails in most countries to-day has been weighed and found wanting. Anarchy appeals to no sane man, for he realises that in this modern congested world individuals must no longer be allowed to follow their uncontrolled impulses. The two social systems which are challenging the attention of earnest men to-day are Socialism and Christianity. The one is so new that it has not yet crystallised into a definite system. Its different advocates and interpreters are not fully agreed regarding either its aims or its methods. The other is rooted in at least twenty centuries of human experience. It is so old that men have nearly forgotten how revolutionary are those principles which were finally formulated by the great Prophet of Nazareth. The one is a social programme projected on the rapidly changing canvas of the future. The other is a

way of living and a social plan that has been tried out under the most adverse conditions for more than eighteen centuries.

Obviously any general comparison between Socialism and the social plan of the prophets and Jesus is necessarily elusive and unsatisfactory. So-called Christian Socialism is simply an attempt to interpret Jesus' teachings into economic and political terms. There are, however, certain outstanding characteristics of organised state Socialism and of the social plan of the prophets and Jesus which admit of definite comparison. Such a comparison is not without its value, for in this field there is sore need of clear, dispassionate thinking. Even though certain types of Anglo-Saxon Socialism seem to be little more than organised class greed and hate and the desire to seize the results of the labour of the more able and industrious, it is only fair to judge a new movement by its ideals as well as by its past and present fruits.

Socialism and Christianity have much in common. Both frankly recognise the evils inherent in existing society. Both seek to eliminate these evils and to institute a better social order. If the conservative definition of a recent writer (Sellars, *The Next Step in Democracy*) be adopted by all classes of Socialists, their aims and those of the leaders of twentieth-century Christianity are practically identical:

> Socialism is a democratic movement whose purpose is the securing of an economic reorganisation of society which will give the maximum possible of justice, liberty, and efficiency, and whose plan is a gradual socialising of industry to the degree and extent that seem experimentally feasible.

This statement is in many respects an echo of the declaration of the Federal Council of Churches of America in 1908, which has been later accepted and expanded by most of the Protestant bodies. This declaration states

> that the church must stand for the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for the safeguarding of this right against encroachments of every kind, and for the protection of

the workers from the hardships of enforced labour; the abatement and prevention of poverty; the right of employees and employers alike to organise, and for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes; the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labour to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life; a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford; a new emphasis on the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised.

A Comparison of the Methods of Socialism and Christianity. It is in their estimate of values and in their methods that thoroughgoing Socialism and historic Christianity differ. Socialism places its chief emphasis on material values; Christianity on those which are ethical and spiritual. They also move on different planes. Socialism focuses its attention chiefly on the economic problems of society; Christianity squarely faces all its problems. Socialism limits its vision to the present physical world; Christianity regards man's life here and beyond the grave as arcs of a larger circle. Socialism assumes that a man's morals and to a large extent his religion are determined by his economic environment, and proposes by a mere economic reconstruction to redeem the individual as well as society. Christianity denies this fundamental assumption. Although it is fully awake to the importance of a right economic and social environment, it seeks first to socialise the individual citizens and through them to regenerate society. Certainly the Founder of Christianity "alone has shown the world how the new social man may be produced."

In general, the method of Socialism is revolutionary; that of Christianity is evolutionary. Socialism proposes to abolish private ownership of capital—at least that which is used in social production. The prophets and Jesus make wealth a divine trust and seek to complete the training of the social citizen through the faithful discharge of the responsibilities of stewardship. The social leaven of Christianity commences to

work the moment a single individual begins to live in accord with Jesus' social teachings; while the ultimate establishment of Socialism depends upon the vote of a majority.

Christianity seeks to lay the foundations of the new social order in personal character, while Socialism proposes to create it by popular fiat. Socialism simply promises to supply a palliative for certain economic evils. The principles of historic Christianity, if thoroughly applied, make impossible the very conditions out of which these evils spring. That is, Socialism seeks to cure the disease, Christianity to remove its causes.

Socialism as interpreted by its modern exponents and the Christianity of Jesus are not necessarily antithetic. In justice to the historical facts it must also be admitted that practically everything that is attractive in the ideals of Socialism—its sense of human brotherhood, its desire to uplift the fallen and the oppressed, its effort to secure right living conditions for every man, and an opportunity for ample self-development and self-realisation—has been drawn from the teachings of the Hebrew prophets and Jesus. It is possible that radical and perhaps very costly experiments in the near future will demonstrate whether or not the programme and methods of Socialism are practicable. The success of any social system which deals with a part rather than the whole of man and seeks to accomplish the regeneration of society simply by revolutionary economic measures is, to say the least, exceedingly doubtful. Yet out of these experiments may come some readjustments which will make easier the personal practice of Jesus' teachings.

The Social Leaven at Work in the Life of the Modern Man. Two closely related questions are often asked to-day: (1) How far are the social principles of the prophets and Jesus being applied in our modern civilisation? In other words, Is that civilisation Christian or pagan or hybrid? (2) What would be the result if they were fully applied? Coming generations must furnish the final reply; but it is possible even now to suggest tentative answers. Jesus' figure of the leaven aptly describes the process now at work in society. The dissatisfied or stolid faces and the unhappy or dreary lives of a large proportion of the human race to-day indicate that his social leaven

has not yet deeply permeated their minds, much less their lives. Childish, pagan ideals still dominate and hold them in thraldom. They have not found a philosophy of living which gives them personal liberty and the inspiration of loyalty to a great cause. The result is that they are inert, inefficient social citizens.

The early Christian centuries, however, had no monopoly of the saints. The modern saint wears no halo nor distinctive garb. In most cases he does not even suspect that he is a saint. Quietly, unostentatiously, he is applying in his own living and in all his contacts with his fellow men the essential principles of Jesus' social gospel. Often he does not even know whence they came. He is found in all stations in life. Sometimes he is a heroic father or self-sacrificing mother intent simply on bringing wholesomeness and harmony into the home. Sometimes he is a faithful manual labourer or an honest captain of industry eagerly devoted to promoting the well-being of all classes. Often he is a tireless social worker or zealous missionary who has measured in practical experience the heights and the depths of the great principle that he who gives is happier than he who receives. In this century of bloody conflict thousands have discovered the way of living which Jesus proclaimed because they have found their life by losing it in the service of society.

Sincerity, good will toward all, and loyalty to God and to the highest interests of their fellows are the common marks which distinguish these knights of a new social order. It is their presence which deters us from characterising our modern civilisation as entirely pagan. They also vastly aid our imagination when we strive to picture the character of a society made up wholly of such socially minded Christian citizens. Certainly the vision completely eclipses the dreams of the most ardent Socialists. And yet its realisation lies directly along the lines already marked out, not only by the prophets, but by the present development of the human race and by the established results of modern science.

In the Life of the Family. It is a strange, sad fact that in the average modern family this social leaven has not yet permeated deeply. The wreckage of thousands of homes through divorce and the breakdown of family life must be frankly reck-

oned among the major tragedies of the present day. This appalling condition is certainly not because the principles of the great social prophets are here deficient or ineffective. It is simply because in the turmoil and rush of modern life their practical teachings have not been appreciated and thoroughly applied in the home.

There are, however, many families to-day which demonstrate conclusively what a home may become whenever the golden rule of unselfish love is regnant. Consideration for the personal welfare and interests of those who serve in a more menial rôle is beginning to transform the architecture and the atmosphere of many homes. When once the Christian principles of democracy and good will govern all the intimate and potential relationships of the family, a stable foundation will at last be laid on which to rear a perfect and enduring social order.

In the Business World. This century has already witnessed a far-reaching though silent revolution in the business world. Much of the bitterness of the conflicts that characterised the older, brutal competitive industrialism still remains. There are sinister suggestions that, unless stronger forces prevent, a mighty struggle between labour and capital impends, for both are organised as never before. The employer who does not hesitate to exploit his employees has not yet entirely disappeared. In many quarters organised labour is arrogant and the victim of self-seeking leaders. But now both the predatory captain of industry and the predatory labour-union are recognised as traitorous foes of the commonwealth. At last they are beginning to be held in leash by educated public opinion and definite laws. Loyalty to the social order promises to complete their voluntary subjugation.

Higher ideals are now winning a prominent place in the commercial world, and they are essentially the ideals of the prophets and Jesus. A new definition of a successful business man is rapidly gaining currency:

> One who gives every man and class with whom he comes into business relations an opportunity to succeed.

This new ideal is well expressed in the creed recently adopted by the Advertising Clubs of America:

> I recognise the fact that the first requisite in success is not to achieve the dollar but to confer a benefit; and the reward will come automatically and as a matter of course.

One of the leading international associations of business men has adopted as its fundamental rule of business conduct this concise, practical paraphrase of Jesus' teaching (Mk. 10[44]):

> He profits most who serves best.

The code of this same association also sets forth as its ideals: ambition to elevate one's fellow men, scorn of illegitimate success, and appreciation of friends as the greatest of assets.

The modern investor is beginning to ask not only whether his investments will pay good dividends, but also whether or not the corporations in which he invests are furthering or retarding social progress. Indeed, it is safe to say that the policies of a majority of the great corporations are to-day ruled by the broad Christian principle that the interests of employer and employee are identical. Millions of dollars are being annually expended by these corporations to insure better housing and living conditions, proper sanitation, education, and recreation for their employees. Workmen's compensation, child-labour, and factory laws are found on the statute books of all civilised nations. Profit-sharing and intelligent co-operation are already taking the place of exploitation and class antagonism.

More significant still, the great leaders of industry are beginning to see clearly that the only way to establish a better understanding between capital and labour and to wipe out class feuds is a clear appreciation and a frank acceptance of the social principles proclaimed by the Hebrew and Christian prophets. Acting on these convictions, industrial leaders are making a widespread and organised effort to instil these fundamental principles of living into the minds of both employers and employees. The effective industrial service work that is being carried on

by the Young Men's Christian Association now has the generous financial support of thousands of the leading business corporations. Its non-sectarian character and its emphasis on the practical application of the social principles of Judaism and Christianity appeal to men of the widest variety of beliefs. Under its direction the foreigner is Americanised, the ignorant employee is given a practical education, and the manual labourer and his family are taught not only how to live, but also how to become social citizens. Through all these many channels industry is gradually being Christianised in reality if not in name.

In the light of the present progress it is not difficult to picture a society in which each man is a faithful steward of whatever wealth or ability to do the world's work he may possess; to conceive of an economic order in which each will administer whatever he holds joyfully and efficiently for the welfare of all; to imagine a real world in which every enlightened man will be more intent upon storing up wealth in heaven than on earth.

In the Christian Church. Principles to be effective must take form in definite organisations; but no one organisation can fully exemplify and apply a large body of principles. That the Christian church during the past eighteen centuries has not fully achieved its divine task none will deny. Whether or not it will do so in the new era just opening is the question of chief concern. Certainly a Christendom divided into competitive and contending groups never will. The time has arrived to undo the mistakes of a half-pagan past. Has the Christian church enough of the harmonising spirit of Jesus and Paul to rise above the petty differences that in the past have rent it asunder and paralysed its efficiency at the very moments when it might have performed its greatest service to humanity? One important branch of the church is still committed to imperialism. Protestant Christianity is the natural herald of democracy. Will it now with undivided front take the lead in establishing that world-embracing Christian unity which is essential to the complete and permanent union of the human race. Religion touches all sides of human life. If the church is to

perform its mission to-day it must likewise be all things to all men.

Notwithstanding the handicap of sectarianism, the Christian church is beginning to gird itself for that larger mission. The world-wide missionary movement is a concrete dramatisation of Jesus' social teachings which mankind as a whole can understand and appreciate. Wherever the true missionary goes he addresses himself alike to men's social and spiritual needs. The same missionary spirit is leading the progressive churches of Christendom to study and to seek to solve the moral, industrial, and social problems that lie at their doors. Where they are still inert, civic, social, and other organisations, equally inspired by the ideals of the prophets and Jesus, are doing this work. It is deeply significant that to-day, wherever the church fails to express adequately the spirit of Christianity, the social gospel finds other channels through which to flow.

Next to the church and supplementing it at every point is the International Young Men's Christian Association movement. It stands not merely in theory but in fact for a united Christendom. It aims, like primitive Christianity, to minister to all the normal needs of the young man and woman and to train them so that they may become dynamic social citizens. Already it has shown remarkable aptitude in adjusting itself to the most diverse conditions. Its spirit of co-operation is irresistible. In many ways it is outdistancing the church in its outreach to these classes and in meeting all their needs.

The present generation under the leadership of Jesus has rediscovered the child and youth. The church through its church schools and clubs, and society through multiple organisations for boys and girls are seeking by action as well as by precept to instil into the minds of childhood and youth the great ethical and social ideals of the prophets and Jesus and to develop well-rounded Christian manhood and womanhood. Powerful nation-wide campaigns against alcohol and vice are creating the necessary environment in which to rear the type of Christian citizen that must be bred if the social ideals of the Second Isaiah and Jesus and Paul are ever to be realised. If these many

powerful organisations which express the awakened social consciousness of the modern age be reinforced by the loyal devotion and unfaltering self-sacrifice of each individual, the complete inauguration of the kingdom of God is not far distant.

In National and International Relations. Bernard Shaw, the cynic Socialist and one of organised Christianity's severest modern critics, has said:

> I am ready to admit, after contemplating the world of human nature for nearly sixty years, I see no way out of the world's misery but the way which would have been found by Christ's will if he had undertaken the work of a modern practical statesman.

Christ's will is still potent in the world, even though it has been thwarted at many great crises in the life of humanity. When the Creator of the universe gave freedom to men he ceased to be omnipotent. With mankind he shared the divinely difficult task of bringing to complete fruition his manifest purpose to develop a perfect manhood and a perfect society. Nations, like men, either work for or against the realisation of that purpose. Their combined might is second only to that of the Infinite himself.

The eternal principles of justice and truth and loyalty, however, abide. The laws of love and service are as true and applicable to-day as at the beginning of history. Nations simply represent aggregations of individual interests and responsibilities. They are subject to the same moral laws as the individuals who compose them. The prophets and Jesus taught the brotherhood of nations as well as the brotherhood of men. Most of the fatal mistakes of the past have been because nations and the statesmen who direct their policies have failed to recognise these fundamental facts. As a result countless falsehoods and acts of injustice have been perpetrated in the names of Christian nations. Under the guise of that type of international duplicity which is slanderously called diplomacy, the rights of the weak and the responsibilities of the strong have been ruthlessly ignored. Viewed in the clear light of the principles set

forth by the prophets and Jesus, international problems are fully as simple as those of the individual. Satisfactory and final solution will speedily be found when it is the will of the nations that these principles be unfalteringly applied.

Economists are inclined to accept as thus far valid the law that as soon as the economic surplus of human production reaches a certain level it is dissipated by war. The prophets and Jesus alone of all the world's teachers have proposed a way of living that is practicable for nations as well as for men. Loyalty to the demands of justice, equality, brotherhood, good will, and an unswerving purpose to guard the highest interests of every human being make it possible for most individuals to live together to-day in peace and comity. The same principles and these alone applied to nations will break this seemingly inevitable economic law and permanently conserve the finest cumulative products of human civilisation. If the mighty movements which embody these principles continue to gain momentum and increased support in all the great nations of the earth, the bloodiest century in human history may yet witness as its supreme achievement the establishment of the new and perfect social order for which Jesus and the world's greatest prophets gave their life-blood.

APPENDIX

I

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II

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

The aim in these outlines is to guide the individual student and classes in churches, colleges, and theological seminaries to a clear personal appreciation of the vital principles proclaimed by Hebrew and Christian prophets and sages. The text of these chapters as a rule furnishes the data necessary for an intelligent discussion of the corresponding questions. In each case the purpose of the question is to stimulate independent thinking and to precipitate personal convictions which will lead to the practical application of these principles to the political, economic, and social problems presented by our modern civilisation. The classified index which follows also furnishes the basis for a topical as well as historical study of the teachings of the prophets and Jesus. It is suggested that students in college and seminary classes will find it exceedingly profitable in connection with each chapter to formulate on a classified card index the new social principles presented by each succeeding prophet. If these are tabulated in accordance with the scheme of the classified index (p. 361), they can be easily arranged at the end of the work so that the social teachings of the Bible on each subject may be readily determined in the order of their historical development.

Part I

THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF THE PRE-EXILIC PROPHETS

I. Moses' Assertion of the Rights of the Industrially Oppressed. 1. In what respects were the beginnings of Israel's national life absolutely unique? 2. Compare the early experiences of the Israelites with those of our Puritan forefathers. 3. Why was the rule of Ramses II the most crushing despotism recorded in human history? Cite later parallels. 4. Describe the experiences and influences that made Moses a prophet. 5. Describe his methods in dealing with the industrial crisis in Egypt. 6. How far are they practicable in dealing with modern industrial problems? 7. Compare the character and work of Moses and of Abraham Lincoln. 8. What important economic principles were established at the beginnings of Hebrew history? 9. In what respects did the Hebrew conception of the character of Jehovah differ from that of contemporary peoples?

II. **The Democratic Principles for Which Ahijah and Elijah Contended.** 1. Compare the social ideals which the Hebrews possessed when they entered Canaan with those of the Puritans when they settled in New England. 2. What important political and social transformations resulted from the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan? 3. Contrast the Hebrew and Canaanite (1) political, (2) economic, (3) moral, and (4) religious ideals and institutions. *Cf.* Wallis, *Sociological Study of the Bible,* pp. 114–116. 4. Trace the history of the conflict between the Hebrew and Canaanite political ideals during the period which began with the election of Gideon and ended with the death of Ahab. 5. What principles regarding the respective duties and rights of rulers and citizens were established during these three centuries? 6. How far was Solomon's system of taxation justifiable and how far unjustifiable? 7. Formulate in the light of this study the underlying principles that should govern all taxation. 8. Which was more democratic, the ancient Hebrew or the modern American commonwealth? Why? 9. What two modern nations best typify the Hebrew and the Canaanite theories of the state?

III. **The Social Teachings of the Early Prophetic Story-Tellers.** 1. What were the outstanding characteristics of a Hebrew prophet? 2. In what different ways did the prophets present their teachings? 3. Why are apt stories especially impressive in teaching social and moral truths? 4. What do the prophetic accounts of the creation (Gen. 2) and the priestly (Gen. 1) teach regarding man's place and responsibilities in the universe? 5. How far are the assertions regarding the foundation and sanctity of the marriage relation in Genesis 2 confirmed by modern science? 6. What is sin, and why is it always unsocial in its effect? 7. How is a criminal developed, and what three possible methods of dealing with him are suggested in the story of Cain? 8. In what ways do national calamities like the flood often contribute to the progress of the human race? 9. In what respects does Abraham (as portrayed in the early prophetic narratives) embody the ideals of a perfect social citizen? 10. Contrast the social development of Cain and Jacob. 11. What qualities in Joseph qualify him to win success in any age or civilisation?

IV. **Amos's Interpretation of the Responsibilities of the Rich and Ruling Classes.** 1. Compare the social and economic transformations in Northern Israel during the half-century preceding Amos and in the United States during the half-century following the Civil War. 2. Describe Amos's personal character and the influences that had moulded him. 3. Define his aims and the different ways in which he sought to

impress his teachings on the Northern Israelites. *Cf.* Amos 7, 8. 4. How did he define the duties of rulers and judges? 5. The responsibilities of the rich? 6. In what ways did he proclaim the brotherhood of man and its obligations? 7. Compare Amos's character and teachings with those of the modern Socialist. 8. What did Amos contribute to the social ideals of humanity?

V. **Hosea's Analysis of the Forces Which Destroy and Upbuild Society.** 1. Compare the personal characteristics of Amos and Hosea. 2. What fundamental religious and social principles were made clear to Hosea through his tragic experiences with his unfaithful wife? 3. What new standard of marital obligation did he establish, and how far is it practicable to-day? 4. Why is social immorality more pernicious in its effects upon society than any other crime? 5. What moral qualities, according to Hosea, are essential to upright character and action? 6. What is the social significance of Hosea's picture of the divine Lover? 7. What did Hosea contribute to our ideal of the socialised individual? 8. In what respects was Hosea the greatest of the pre-exilic prophets? 9. Compare the personality and message of Hosea and our modern poet Browning.

VI. **The Social Ideals of the Statesman Isaiah.** 1. Compare the development of social conditions in Judah and in Northern Israel between 780 and 740 B.C. 2. Trace the experiences and influences which led Isaiah to take up the work of a prophet. 3. To what extent are the political and judicial crimes which Isaiah denounced found in modern society? 4. Is the principle which Isaiah laid down regarding land monopoly applicable to all natural resources? 5. On what grounds did Isaiah condemn intemperance and debauchery? 6. What was Isaiah's attitude during the different political crises through which Judah passed during his lifetime, and what was the basis of his convictions? 7. What did Isaiah teach regarding the rule or kingdom of God? 8. Compare the character and work of Isaiah with those of the great Athenian orator and patriot Demosthenes.

VII. **Micah the Tribune of the Common People.** 1. In what ways did Micah's birthplace and occupation determine the content of his teaching? 2. Compare his charges against the ruling classes with those made by Isaiah. 3. How far does Micah's interpretation of the point of view and methods of the rich in Judah apply to the same class in England and America to-day? 4. Explain how a large body of false prophets had sprung up in Israel (*cf.* I Kgs. 22) and in Judah, and why they were a great political and social menace. 5. Does Micah's arraignment of the false prophets of his day apply in any sense to certain

of the leaders of the Christian church to-day, and if so, in what respects? 6. What was the practical effect of Micah's addresses? 7. Why did Micah arouse the popular conscience even more than Isaiah? Cite modern analogies. 8. How would you define religion? Does Micah 6^8 contain an adequate definition? If not, what elements are lacking?

VIII. **The Social Reformers of the Seventh Century.** 1. What was the nature and effect of the wars that Assyria waged against the people of southwestern Asia? 2. Compare with the nature and effects of the Napoleonic War and the Great War. 3. On what grounds did Nahum condemn war? 4. What are the causes of a moral and religious reaction as illustrated by that in the reign of Manasseh? 5. Compare the inheritance and personality of Zephaniah and Jeremiah. 6. What political crisis led them to utter their earlier prophecies? 7. What charges did they bring against the rulers of Judah? 8. How far is their analysis of the peculiar perils which assailed the wealthy classes still true? 9. Were Zephaniah and Jeremiah pessimists and calamity howlers or loyal patriots? Give the reasons for your conclusion. 10. Compare the ancient Hebrew and the modern methods of promulgating laws.

IX. **The Social Principles Embodied in the Prophetic Code of Deuteronomy.** 1. In what way did the Deuteronomic lawgivers contribute to the improvement of the status of woman? 2. How far did they depart from ancient customs in placing definite responsibilities upon parents? 3. What motives did they urge in order to compel children to obey and honour their parents? 4. How did the Deuteronomic lawgivers seek to restrict slavery? 5. Which possessed greater authority and why: a Hebrew king governed by the law of Deuteronomy or a president of the United States or of the French republic? 6. Compare the ideals held up before judges and witnesses in the Deuteronomic law and those established by public opinion in Christian lands to-day. 7. How far and in what ways are the principles underlying the economic and labour laws in Deuteronomy applicable in modern society? 8. Indicate the different ways by which the Deuteronomic lawgivers endeavoured to prevent and alleviate poverty. 9. Formulate the motives which, according to Deuteronomy, should inspire the socialised individual.

Part II

THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF THE EXILIC AND POST-EXILIC PROPHETS AND SAGES

X. **Israel's Mature Political Ideals.** 1. What changes did the destruction of the Hebrew state in 586 B.C. effect in the point of view of the Jews who survived? 2. What is the derivation and meaning of the word messianic? 3. Are the messianic prophecies of the Old Testament predictions to be divinely fulfilled, or are they social goals to be attained by the combined efforts of God and man? 4. What political ideals are set forth in Psalm 72? 5. In Isaiah 9^{2-7}? 6. Is the portrait of a just and benign ruler in Isaiah 11^{1-10} too ideal to be practically realised in human history? Give the reasons for your conclusion. 7. What rulers in Israel's history realised most fully the ideals set forth in Psalm 101? 8. In modern history? 9. On the basis of these passages formulate the decalogue which should govern men occupying public office.

XI. **The Growth of Israel's Missionary Attitude toward All Nations.** 1. Why of all the ancient peoples did the Hebrews alone develop a missionary attitude toward their heathen neighbours? 2. Trace the ever-increasing rights and privileges granted to resident aliens in the successive Hebrew codes. 3. Why were the Jews of Palestine, in the days following the destruction of Jerusalem, in their attitude toward foreigners more liberal than the Jews in exile? 4. What essentials in a practical world-peace programme are stressed in Micah 4^{1-4}? 5. What did the author of Isaiah 40–66 contribute to Israel's missionary ideal? 6. What is the broadest statement of this ideal in the Old Testament? 7. Why did the later Jewish prophets and psalmists believe that "all the families of the nations will worship in Jehovah's presence"? 8. What was the aim of the author of the story of Jonah, and how did he realise his aim? 9. How did Judaism in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era become an active missionary force?

XII. **Second Isaiah's Ideal of Social Service.** 1. What conditions and what aims inspired the author of Isaiah 40–66 to write his immortal songs? 2. How did his interpretation of Israel's destiny differ from the popular expectations of his fellow countrymen? 3. Are the servant passages in Isaiah 42–53 detailed predictions? If not, what are they? 4. What are the distinctive characteristics of the servant of Jehovah as portrayed by the Second Isaiah? 5. How does the train-

ing of Jehovah's servant differ, for example, from that of Jesus' disciples? 6. What were the definite services which the Second Isaiah hoped would be performed by the servant of Jehovah? 7. Are these defined in terms of the conditions and needs which then confronted the prophet? 8. What are the methods by which the servant's work is to be accomplished? 9. What light do these prophecies shed upon the value of the suffering of the righteous if patiently borne in behalf of a worthy cause? 10. How and by whom has the prophet's ideal of the suffering servant been most fully realised in human history? To-day? 11. Compare the formulation of the essentials of religion in Isaiah 58^{1-10} with that which then prevailed in Judaism. With that which prevails in different parts of the Christian church to-day.

XIII. **The Social Teachings of the Wise.** 1. Compare the aims and methods of the wise with those of the modern religious teacher. 2. How far does their ideal of a good wife conform to that of the modern man? Of the modern woman? 3. How far did the wise anticipate our present conception of the duties of parents? 4. What reasons for filial obedience and loyalty did the wise add to those already set forth by the Deuteronomic lawgivers? 5. Write a brief sketch of the typical ruler who embodies the political ideals of the wise. 6. Was the counsel of the wise regarding suretyship cruel and selfish? 7. Formulate in your own words the philosophy of wealth set forth by the wise and consider how far it is complete and practical for the modern man. 8. Is their ideal of the golden mean between poverty and wealth practical and valid in all ages? 9. If generally accepted, how would it affect the welfare and progress of human society?

XIV. **The Good Neighbour and Citizen According to the Wise.** 1. What social crimes did the wise regard as especially pernicious, and why? 2. According to their judgment, what are the qualities which mark a good neighbour? 3. Which set up the higher standard of citizenship, the proverb writers or the psalmists? 4. What standard of piety was in the mind of the author of the prose story of Job (Job 1, 2)? 5. What is the point of view of the writer of the poem of Job (Job 3–31), priestly or prophetic? 6. What personal qualities did the author of the poem of Job deem absolutely essential to good citizenship? 7. What was Job's attitude toward existing social evils? 8. Through what acts of service did his enlightened social consciousness find expression? 9. With what modern social movements would Job be identified if he lived in America to-day? 10. Are there men and women now living who embody the ideals of social citizenship set forth in the poem of Job? Cite specific illustrations.

XV. **The Social Philosophy of Hillel and John the Baptist.** 1. Why did the Maccabean struggle largely drive from the mind of the Jews the social ideals of their early prophets and sages? 2. Compare the character, aims, and beliefs of the Pharisees, of the Sadducees, and of the Essenes. *Cf.* Kent, *Historical Bible*, IV: *Makers and Teachers of Judaism*, 247–254. 3. In what respects did Hillel resemble the early social prophets of his race? 4. How far did his teachings anticipate those of Jesus? 5. With the aid of historical facts, write an imaginary sketch of the youth and development of John the Baptist in the days preceding his public ministry. 6. What did John aim to accomplish by his public activity? 7. Formulate in your own words the social principle which he proclaimed. 8. What led him to believe and teach that a new social era was about to begin? 9. In what sense was he the forerunner of Jesus?

Part III

The Social Ideals of Jesus

XVI. **Jesus' Approach to the Social Problem.** 1. In what ways did Jesus' youthful experiences prepare him for his work as a social teacher? 2. What proofs are there that he was deeply interested in social questions? 3. What was the chief aim of each of the four gospel writers, and how far was each interested in social problems? 4. If we did not have Luke's gospel, what would we know about Jesus' interest in social questions? 5. Compare the social conditions in Jesus' day with those of the present. 6. Did Jesus test by personal experience all the social principles which he proclaimed? Give your reasons. 7. Compare the relation between his teachings and personal experience and that of earlier prophets like Amos and Hosea. 8. What was the relation in his mind between religion and social service? 9. Can religion and social service ever be dissevered without irreparable loss to both? Illustrate. 10. What was Jesus' ultimate test of religious character and life? 11. How far is this standard adopted and enforced in the different divisions of the Christian church?

XVII. **Jesus' Aims and Methods as a Social Teacher.** 1. What different social programmes were being advocated in the Palestine of Jesus' day? 2. What light does the story of Jesus' temptation throw on his conception of his social mission and the way in which it should be accomplished? 3. In what respects did Capernaum offer greater opportunities for a broad and representative social work than did

Nazareth? 4. What methods did Jesus use at Capernaum in carrying through his social plan? 5. To what classes did he appeal? 6. What did he mean by "saving the lost"? 7. What did he demand of his followers, and by what means did he seek to train them? 8. What were his ultimate aims in endeavouring to build up a brotherhood in Capernaum? 9. Compare his aims and methods with those of the modern settlement-house worker. 10. How far did Jesus succeed during his lifetime in carrying out his social plan?

XVIII. **The Characteristics of the Christian Citizen.** 1. Why did Jesus regard every human being, however weak he might be physically, mentally, or morally, with superlative respect and consideration? 2. In what ways did he give to his followers larger life and liberty? 3. What did he teach was the relation between individual liberty and responsibility? 4. How is it that the acceptance of Jesus' philosophy of living often enables "the weak to confound the mighty"? 5. How did Jesus seek to deter men from committing murder and kindred acts of violence? 6. From committing adultery and similar immoral acts? 7. Why did he teach that sincerity, charitable judgment, and forgiveness were the fundamental social virtues? 8. How is it that love inspires all other social virtues? 9. In what respects has Tolstoi misinterpreted Jesus' law of love? 10. How do you reconcile Jesus' teaching regarding non-resistance with his public activity during his last week at Jerusalem? 11. Retell the story of the Good Samaritan in terms of modern men and conditions.

XIX. **Jesus' Appreciation of the Social Values of Recreation and Popular Amusements.** 1. Is the popular conception of Jesus' real character true or false, and why? 2. Collect from the gospel records the evidences of his sense of humour. 3. How do you explain the fact that they are preserved in a literature which grew up amidst bitter persecution and suffering? 4. What are the reasons why Jesus' life with his disciples was so joyous? 5. What evidences are there that Jesus thoroughly appreciated and commended all forms of wholesome amusement? 6. In what ways would Jesus seek to combat certain modern forms of commercialised amusement which are obviously harmful? 7. Compare the Pharisaic interpretation of the Sabbath with that of Jesus. 8. Why do the majority of our Protestant churches still incline toward the priestly and Pharisaic interpretation? 9. How may we to-day use the Sabbath for man in keeping with the spirit of the teachings of the prophets and Jesus? 10. Was Jesus justified in making the happiness of the individual and of society one of the chief goals of his work and teaching? *Cf.* Hilty, *Happiness.* 11. Formulate in

your own words the attitude toward life which Jesus set forth in his first four beatitudes as an essential of happiness. 12. Also the attitude toward one's fellow men which he set forth in his remaining beatitudes. 13. What would you say are the ten most important principles in Jesus' philosophy of living?

XX. **Jesus' Economic Teachings.** 1. What is wealth? 2. Why did Jesus devote so much attention to the problems connected with wealth? 3. What evidence is there that he fully appreciated the value of wealth? 4. What, according to Jesus, are the chief perils of wealth? 5. To which of these perils is the poor man especially exposed? 6. Are these perils greater to-day than in the first Christian century? 7. Is the individual possession of large wealth necessarily harmful to the individual and to society? Cite definite illustrations. 8. Is the possession of large wealth harmful to a nation and to human society as a whole? 9. Formulate the rules which should be followed in order faithfully to discharge the obligations of Christian stewardship of wealth. 10. What are some of the many practical ways in which wealth to-day may be stored up in heaven? 11. Should remuneration be based solely on the market value of labour, or also on the labourer's need and the spirit with which he works? Give the reasons. 12. How can the obligations of society to those who are ready to work faithfully be justly and practically met? 13. How do you explain the slight emphasis which Jesus, in contrast to the Pharisees, placed on almsgiving? 14. By what practical methods did he seek to prevent poverty? 15. Picture in detail a society in which Jesus' economic principles are thoroughly applied.

XXI. **Jesus' Teachings Regarding the Family.** 1. Why did Jesus guard so zealously the integrity of the family? 2. What evidence is there that he strongly supported the institution of marriage? 3. Do his teachings regarding marriage apply simply to his followers or to all men? 4. Was he intolerant and impracticable in his condemnation of divorce with a view to remarriage? 5. Have conditions changed so that his teachings on this subject are no longer valid? Give your reasons. 6. If universally applied, would they increase or lessen the happiness of the individual and of society, and why? 7. How can they be practically applied in an only partially christianised society? 8. How far would Jesus' teaching regarding the duty of husbands to wives tend to remove the causes of divorce? 9. Formulate the principle that he laid down to guide children in doing their duty to their parents. 10. How have his teachings been effective in abolishing slavery? 11. What practical contributions did he make to the satis-

factory solution of the modern servant problem? 12. Picture a home in which his teachings are fully accepted and applied.

XXII. **Jesus' Teachings Regarding the State.** 1. Why did the conditions of Jesus' day tend to prevent his public discussion of political questions? 2. What justification is there in the statement that Jesus was the most thoroughgoing champion of democracy that the world has yet seen? 3. Compare his democracy with that of Plato. 4. Why did Jesus openly attack the high priests by cleansing the temple of the bazaars which they had established there? 5. Was his act hasty and rash, or was it deliberate and justified? Give your reasons. 6. What did Jesus mean by his command to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's? 7. Why did the Pharisees bring the woman convicted of adultery before Jesus, and why did they silently slip away when he refused to condemn her? 8. What principles did he establish in his treatment of this typical case? 9. How far is modern society, through honour and parole systems, juvenile courts, and mutual welfare leagues, adopting and applying Jesus' methods of dealing with the delinquent and the criminal? 10. How do you harmonise Jesus' attack upon the high priests and Pharisees with his refusal to use force in his own defense? 11. How far are nations under obligation to apply in their international relations the same moral principles that men accept in private life? 12. Are our modern police systems and an international league to enforce peace in keeping with Jesus' teachings? Give your reasons. 13. Is war ever justifiable, and if so, under what conditions? 14. What is Jesus' method of putting an end to war, and is it practicable?

XXIII. **The Rule or Kingdom of God.** 1. In what different senses was the term kingdom of God used by different classes in Jesus' day? 2. What evidence is there that he did not accept the popular apocalyptic interpretation of the term? 3. Why did he employ this variously interpreted term? 4. What did he mean when he used it? 5. What did he declare must be the attitude of the man who would work effectively for the establishment of the rule or kingdom of God on earth? 6. Why do not the majority of men to-day "seek first the kingdom of God"? 7. How, according to Jesus, is the kingdom of God to be established on the basis of the existing social order? 8. Consider definite classes and individuals that in your opinion are (1) hastening and (2) retarding the establishment of the kingdom of God. 9. What definite steps did Jesus take to institute this new social order? 10. How far was he successful during his lifetime? 11. How far is his plan for transforming society practicable under modern conditions?

Part IV

The Social Ideals of Jesus' Followers

XXIV. **The Social Life of the Early Christian Communities.** 1. How do you explain the fact that Jesus' sudden death did not permanently daunt his followers? 2. What influenced them to rally at Jerusalem? 3. In what ways was their organisation democratic? 4. Picture a typical day in the life of one of the members of the Jerusalem community. 5. What is the evidence for or against the conclusion that they lived on a communistic basis? 6. Why did they attract new recruits to their ranks? 7. In what ways did the bitter persecution that followed the martyrdom of Stephen prove a valuable factor in extending the kingdom of God throughout the Roman Empire? *Cf.* Acts 8^{1-8}, 11^{19-24}. 8. For what reasons does the life of the early Christian communities in Jerusalem and Antioch possess especial interest and significance? 9. How far throughout the world had the brotherhood which Jesus established at Capernaum extended by the end of the first half-century? *Cf.* Kent, *Historical Bible*, VI: *The Work and Teachings of the Apostles*, pp. 244, 245.

XXV. **Paul's Social and Economic Teachings.** 1. What evidence is there that Paul was intensely interested in social questions? 2. What opportunities did he have to become familiar with Jesus' social teachings? 3. How far are his teachings regarding marriage valid? 4. Compare his teachings regarding divorce with (1) those of the Deuteronomic lawgivers and (2) with those of Jesus. 5. In what ways did Paul's teachings tend to exalt the status of woman? 6. What contributions did he make to the solution of the domestic servant problem? 7. Compare his economic teachings with those of Jesus. 8. What methods did he employ to develop the habit of generous giving? 9. With what results? 10. How may his methods be practically applied to-day in training the young in habits of intelligent giving?

XXVI. **Paul's Ideal of Christian Citizenship.** 1. Compare the personal characteristics and training of Jesus and Paul. 2. Their point of view and social aims. 3. What qualities did Paul declare were essential in a Christian citizen? 4. Paraphrase in your own words his immortal hymn in praise of love. 5. Did Paul give love the preeminent place under the influence of Jesus' teachings or as a result of his own practical experience? 6. How far are Paul's teachings regarding a citizen's duty to the state valid to-day in a democracy? 7. Formulate in universal terms the rules that he laid down for the

guidance of Christian citizens in their relations with one another. 8. Do they apply to-day simply to a man's relations to the members of his church or to all his social relations? 9. How does Paul expand Jesus' command to love one's enemies? 10. Compare Jesus' teaching regarding the kingdom of God and Paul's regarding the body of Christ. 11. In what respects do Paul's teachings regarding the body of Christ represent the logical culmination of the social teachings of the prophets and Jesus?

XXVII. **The Adoption of Jesus' Social Principles during the First Christian Century.** 1. What influences hindered the free working of Jesus' social leaven during the first Christian century? 2. What were the effects of the persecutions of Nero and of Domitian? 3. What principles does the author of I Peter lay down for the guidance of husbands and wives? 4. For the guidance of Christian citizens? 5. How far is the stern arraignment in James 2^{1-9} applicable to individual Christian churches to-day? 6. How complete is the definition of religion found in James 1^{27}? 7. How far does the stern condemnation of the rich by the author of the epistle of James apply to the same classes to-day? 8. What is the value from the social point of view of the visions in the book of Revelation? 9. Trace through the teachings of Hosea, Jeremiah, Jesus, Paul, and the author of I John the development of the law of love. 10. What social virtues did the early Christians, as described by Aristides, possess that are no longer prominent in modern Christianity?

XXVIII. **The Application of the Social Teachings of the Prophets and Jesus.** 1. What influences combined in the second and following centuries to lead the world to ignore the social teachings of the prophets and Jesus? 2. In what ways did the Protestant Reformation contribute to and in what ways did it defer the rediscovery of these teachings? 3. What elements in Jesus' social gospel did the Puritans accept and what did they ignore? 4. How has the modern historical and literary study of the Bible contributed to the rediscovery and evaluation of these teachings? 5. Analyse the causes of the new social awakening. 6. What do Socialism and Christianity share in common? 7. In what respects do their methods differ fundamentally? 8. Compare the results wherever either one or the other has been practically tried. 9. Picture in imagination what would be the effects if (1) Socialism or (2) Christianity should suddenly be accepted and applied in America or Europe. 10. What are the causes that have contributed to the breakdown of the modern family? 11. What can the principles laid down by the prophets and Jesus do to rehabilitate it? 12. What

evidence is there that these principles are rapidly revolutionising the spirit and methods in force in the business world? 13. How do you explain this fact? 14. In what lines is there still great need of further progress? 15. Why is organised labour often antagonistic to organised Christianity? 16. What would be the effect upon the world missionary movement if all the commercial agencies of Christian nations were governed by the social principles of the prophets and Jesus? 17. Is the Christian church more or less Christian than it was in the first century? 18. If Jesus were living to-day, would he enthusiastically support all the aims and agencies of your local church or would he silently condemn a part of its activity even as he did that of the Jewish church of his day? 19. In what practical ways can a follower of the prophets and Jesus work whole-heartedly to render the church more efficient? 20. Why do the present divisions of the Christian church paralyse its authority and efficiency? 21. On what common basis could the Protestant, the Greek and the Roman Catholic churches unite, and what would be the effect on human civilisation? 22. Why is the International Christian Association movement in many ways the most potent religious agency in the world? 23. What would be the effect on international relations if all the statesmen of the Christian nations for one week absolutely told the truth? 24. Is the theory that the economic surplus of human production will, whenever it reaches a certain level, be dissipated in war absolute and forever valid? 25. Is it possible and even probable that, having tried out war to the uttermost as a means of settling international differences, humanity may now give the principles of the prophets and Jesus a thorough trial? Give the reasons for your conclusion.

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